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OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Nazareth, Pa.

VOLUME XI.

PARTS I, II, AND III.

WHITEFIELD HOUSE
NAZARETH, PENNA.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
1936

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Bethlehem Printing Co.,
Bethlehem, Penna

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ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 27, 1917

The meeting convened in the Museum Hall at 10:30 a.m., with twenty members present. Minutes of the last annual meeting, having already appeared in print, were not read.

Secretary's Report

The Secretary reported three regular quarterly and two special meetings as having been held during the year. Capt. J. H. F. Reusswig, Secretary, having been called to the colors, resigned in May, and Bro. W. H. Vogler was chosen to serve the unexpired term.

The Committee on Publications was the only Standing Committee to report, the Chairman stating that the diaries of the Bethlehem congregation would soon be translated and edited.

The Committee for fixing the time for the formal presentation of the "Rest House" on the old Indian cemetery by the Building committee, suggested some Saturday in October as a suitable time, and the date was fixed for Saturday, October 27th.

A minute of the Executive Committee with reference to the mixed, multitudinous and varied duties of the Secretary, Librarian and Treasurer,—after some discussion, was referred to the next annual meeting for final action.

An appropriate honorarium was voted the Secretary-Treasurer-Librarian. Hereafter extra work in the Museum and Library is to be paid by special appropriation.

The entire old board was unanimously re-elected: viz.

President—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Bethlehem, Pa.

Vice-Presidents—The Rt. Rev. M. W. Leibert, The Rev. A. D.

Thaeler, The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, Prof. A. G. Rau, Dr. John W. Jordan, Prof. A. R. Beck, Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, Eugene A. Rau.

Librarian, Secretary, Treasurer.—The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Board of Managers.—Aug. H. Leibert, J. Sam'l Krause, F. C. Stout, R. O. Beitel, Harrison C. Desh.

Library Committee.—Dr. John W. Jordan, Theodore F. Kampmann, John F. Bardill, Clarence Beckel, The Rev. Edmund deS. Brunner.

Publication Committee.—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Prof. A. G. Rau, H. J. Meyers.

Graveyard Committee. — Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, Frank H. Martin, S. R. Odenwelder, W. H. Milchsack.

The following were elected Life Members of the Society: L. MacLean Wilson, Montrose, Pa.; J. F. Laubach, Bethlehem, Pa.; A. N. Roberts, Bethlehem, Pa.; William Baum, Bethlehem, Pa.; L. H. J. Gossart, Allentown, Pa.; Miss Mary Knapp, Bethlehem, Pa.; Miss Harriet Henry, Boulton, Pa.; Mrs. Clarence E. Clewell, Philadelphia, Pa.

The following were elected Active or Associate Members: Edwin T. Beitel, Bethlehem, Pa.; Eugene Trein, Nazareth, Pa.; Stephen A. Trein, Nazareth, Pa.; Paul E. Beck, Harrisburg, Pa.; C. Conrad Shimer, Bethlehem Pa.; Prof. Chas. Fox, Bethlehem, Pa.; John A. Miller, Nazareth, Pa.; Mrs. John A. Miller, Nazareth, Pa.; Mrs. H. B. Eggert, Bethlehem, Pa.; G. Fred Bahnson, Easton, Pa.; Mrs. G. Fred Bahnson, Easton, Pa.; Dr. B. S. Erwin, Mauch Chunk, Pa.; Mrs. B. S. Erwin, Mauch Chunk, Pa.

VESPER MEETING, 2:15 O'CLOCK

One hundred and eighty-eight guests assembled in the Museum room for the vesper. After an appropriate blessing had been sung and the vesper meal eaten, the president rose and referred to the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation under Luther, and also to the fact that it was the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of our own Moravian Historical Society.

The president then read the names of the members who de-

parted this life during the past year, viz:—Charles M. Dodson, Levin F. Leibfried, John F. Beitel, Edw. J. Krause, Mrs. C. H. Wenhold and George Baum. In their memory the hymn "They with patience having run," was sung.

Mrs. J. Upton Myers then read a paper on "The Growth of the Social Order in Bethlehem." The Secretary read a sketch of his own personal recollections of life in the missionary homes about the middle of the last century,—"Reminiscent of the Cherokee Indian Mission."

Prof. Paul E. Beck, Dr. B. S. Erwin, Dr. S. J. Blum and Bishop E. C. Greider also made brief remarks.

Abstracts of the Treasurer's Account for the year.

Total receipts including balance from former treasurer	$ 503 31
Total expenses	465 91
Cash balance	$ 37 40

Investments

Total bonds, interest account, etc	$6,247 89

Trust Funds

Total Trust Funds	$5,477 75
Excess Investments	$ 770 14

Resources

Cash	$ 37 40
Investments	$6,247 89
	$6,285 29
Trust Funds	5,477 14
Excess Resources	$ 808 15

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMHBER 26, 1918

Fifteen members present. Minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. An abstract of the treasurer's report was ordered spread on the minutes, viz:

Treasurer's Report, 1917-1918.

Balance, Sept. 1st, 1917	$ 37 40	
Receipts to Aug. 1st, 1918	$1,152 28	
		$1,189 68
Expenses incl. of price of two Liberty Bonds	$1,006 66	
Balance	$ 183 02	
Investments	$6,658 68	
Trust Funds	$6,197 51	
Excess Investments	$ 461 17	
Resources	$6,741 70	
Liabilities	$6,531 26	
Excess resources	$ 390 44	

During a discussion anent the matter of publication the following motion was passed: "That all proceedings of the society, as well as the more prominent papers read or prepared for the society be recommended to the Publication Committee with power to act."

Librarian's Report

This report was accepted and placed on the minutes. He reported among other things the gift to the society of the old Nazareth fire engine imported in 1791. This gift from the borough authorities is to be temporarily housed in the garage of Wm. H. Milchsack. The Librarian was also authorized to sell or exchange *duplicates* with the consent of the Executive Committee. The hour for the annual vesper was changed from 2:15 o'clock to 1:15 o'clock as an experiment.

Election of Officers

The election resulted in the choice of the following officers for the ensuing year:

President—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze.

Vice-Presidents—The Rt. Rev. M. W. Leibert, The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, Abraham S. Schropp, Prof. A. R. Beck, Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, Dr. John W. Jordan, Prof. A. G. Rau, E. A. Rau, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, The Rt. Rev. J. T. Hamilton.

Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian—The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Board of Managers—Aug. H. Leibert, J. Sam'l Krause, F. C. Stout, R. O. Beitel, Harrison C. Desh.

Library Committee—Dr. J. W. Jordan, Theodore F. Kampmann, Clarence Beckel, The Rev. E. deS. Brunner, The Rev. Paul S. Meinert.

Publication Committee—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Prof. A. G. Rau, H. J. Meyers.

Graveyard Committee—Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, S. R. Odenwelder, Frank H. Martin, W. H. Milchsack.

The following were nominated and elected as Life Members: John Leibert, Mrs. B .H. Jones, Clarence Beckel, The Rev. H. W. Roth, George Chandler, William G. Miller, Harry Miller, Alan C. Dodson, Miss Katherine Yeakel, Robert Luckenbach, Mrs. Mary Laubach, George Radford, Mrs. George Radford. Total 13.

Active Members—The Rev. D. C. Meinert, E. E. Beckel, O. J. Sawyer, Ralph Beckel, Mrs. H. C. Tacy, G. Raymond Schmich,

Edward A. Neisser, Mrs. Edw. A. Neisser, The Rev. Reinhold Henklemann, Mrs. Wm. C. Cortright, Mrs. Chas. Fox, Miss Ella C. Leibert, Miss Charlotte Sames, Miss Rebecca Sames, Clarence W. Boehm, The Rev. Leon G. Luckenbach, C. H. Seyfried, Thomas F. Koehler, Mrs. H. C. Shields, Mrs. Florence Brockman. Total 20.

Associate Members—Hon. Russell C. Stewart, R. P. Hommel, H. F. Walton, R. P. Hutchinson, Mrs. R. P. Hutchinson, Miss Elizabeth D. Burrows, John E. Stocker, Mrs. John E. Stocker, Wm. C. Cortright, J. Upton Myers, Frank Schmidt, Mrs. Frank Schmidt, C. T. Brazington, F. D. Heckman, Arthur Schmidt, Mrs. Arthur Schmidt. Total 16.

The business session of the morning closed after the Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian had been voted a fitting honorarium, and an additional $20.00 for extra work during the year.

VESPER MEETING, 2.15 O'CLOCK

At 2:15 p.m., despite the unfavorable weather, about one hundred and seventy-five persons had assembled for the usual repast. For the first time in the history of the society,—owing to war conditions,—"Sugar Cake" was lacking at the festive board. Directly on the opening of the meeting a company of young ladies in Red Cross uniform marched into the room singing "My Country 'tis of Thee," led by Miss Caroline Thaeler who bore a bouquet of asters, the gift of her grandfather, A. S. Schropp. This gift was handed the president who responded in fitting remarks. After the chairman had announced the names of the members who had departed this life during the past year, Mrs. Charles Orstfoss, Prof. J. F. Kline and The Rev. W. H. Roth, the assemblage rose and sang the usual memorial hymn.

After the vesper the chairman called on Mrs. J. Upton Myers, who read a paper on "The Social Evolution in Old Bethlehem." This was followed by an address by Dr. A. G. Rau, on the Music of the the Moravian Church. The Hon. R. C. Stewart responded in kindly vein to an invitation to address the assemblage. During this part of the meeting several gifts to the museum were announced.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 25, 1919

The annual business session opened in the Museum room at 9:00 a.m., with fourteen members present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The Treasurer's report was communicated, accepted and spread on the minutes in full. The following is an abstract:

Abstract of the Treasurer's report for the current year.

Receipts from all sources		$1,038 45
Expenses		1,006 38
Balance		$ 32 07
Resources		6,959 64
Liabilities	$6,817 21	
Excess	142 43	
	$6,959 64	$6,959 64

The Secretary's report called attention to the successful effort of Dr. John W. Jordan in inaugurating a movement of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, the Beaver County Historical Society and the Moravian Historical Society, to place a marker on the site of Zeisberger's Mission at Friedenstadt near Coudersport, Beaver County, Pa.

The following names were presented for membership, and were duly elected:

Life Members—A. C. Betge, James Yeakel.

Active and Associate Members — Fred W. Mease, Leonard Luckenbach, Russell V. K. Eberman, Geo. M. Donaldson, Miss

Hannah Godshalk, W. C. Cummings, Mrs. Harry W. Foster, Mrs. Martin Pohl, Mrs. Morris Fortuin, Mrs. A. E. Frantz, Miss Henrietta Frantz, L. P. Kostenbader, Miss Clara A. Beck, Mrs. Anna Anderson, Miss Anna Beitel, Mrs. E. E. Beitel, The Rev. A. E. Francke, Milton H. Fehnel, Miss Clara Hoch, Miss Agnes Lear, Miss Laura L. Martin, Mrs. Wm. Mease, Mrs. C. C. Teter, C. C. Teter, Aug. W. Schmich, Mrs. C. L. Shimer, Russell Sigley, Mrs. Russell Sigley, Mrs. Joseph Horner, A. G. Connoly, Mrs. S. J. Blum, John W. Fries, C. Frederick Martin, Allen W. Schattschneider, Joseph Brobston.

The Librarian's report noted much improvement in the organization and classification of the library. The Museum too has undergone considerable change in the order of grouping pictures, curios, etc. A considerable number of interesting relics have been presented to the Museum during the year.

The election resulted in the choice of all the old officers excepting two who replace a similar number of retiring members of the Library Committee.

President—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze.

Vice-Presidents—The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, Abr. S. Schropp, Prof. A. R. Beck, Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, Dr. John W. Jordan, Prof. A. G. Rau, Eugene A. Rau, The Rt. Rev. John T. Hamilton.

Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian—The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Board of Managers—Aug. H. Leibert, J. Sam'l Krause, R. O. Beitel, H. C. Desh.

Library Committee—Dr. John W. Jordan, Theodore Kampmann, The Rev. P. S. Meinert, Warren Siegfried, The Rev. R. Henklemann.

Publication Committee—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Prof. A. G. Rau, H. J. Meyers.

Graveyard Committee—Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, S. R. Odenwelder, Frank H. Martin, W. H. Milchsack.

The Secretary's salary was ordered paid, and he was given $20.00 for extra work done in the Library.

VESPER MEETING, 1.15 O'CLOCK

A trombone choir from Bethlehem led the singing. About two hundred and twenty-five members and guests were seated. After the repast the Secretary read the names of the departed members, Gen. W. E. Doster, Morris A. Borhek, J. F. Pemsel, England, Augustus Schulze, L.H.D., R. W. Leibert, M. W. Leibert, D.D., Judson D. Francis, John Reinheimer, Mrs. H. A. Krause, Theodore R. Shields, and in memory of the members who had departed during the past year the customary memorial stanza was sung. Abstracts of the Treasurer's and the Secretary's reports were communicated to the vesper guests.

The President then introduced Miss Adelaide Fries of Winston-Salem, N. C., who read an account of the voyage of the Rev. Lewis David deSchweinitz and his bride from Europe to the United States, entitled "To answer the call." Bishop J. T. Hamilton read a paper "John Antes, a Pioneer American Missionary of the Eighteenth Century, in Egypt." Short addresses were also made by The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, Mr. John W. Fries and Prof. Muir, Superintendent of the Bethlehem Public Schools. The time for the annual business meeting was unanimously agreed upon as 11:15 a.m. The time of the vesper was fixed at 1:15 p.m. Adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 23, 1920

The meeting was held in the Sunday School Annex of the Moravian Church, at 11:15 a.m., with fourteen members present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The treasurer's report was also approved, and an abstract ordered to be placed on the minutes, and to be communicated to the vesper guests this afternoon.

Abstract of the treasurer's report for the year just closed.

Receipts		$ 702 58
Expenses	$ 553 76	
Balance	148 82	
		$ 702 58

Investments		$7,205 05
Trust Funds	$6,608 23	
Excess Investments	596 82	
		$7,205 05

Resources

Cash	$ 148 82
Investments	7,205 05
	$7,353 87

Liabilities

Trust and other funds	$7,235 74
Excess resources	118 13
	$7,353 87

The Secretary's report was presented, approved and made a

part of the minutes. Theodore Kampmann was tendered a rising vote of thanks for his donation of knives and spoons. The chairman of the Publication Committee reported the reasons for delay of proposed publications and outlined plans for the near future.

The Librarian's report was read, accepted, and made a part of the minutes of the meeting. A resolution of Bro. Paul de Schweinitz recommending a change in place for the annual vesper, because of lack of room at the Whitefield House, and in order to give guests a chance to inspect the Museum and Library, was unanimously adopted.

Br. Aug. H. Leibert was paid $25.00 on account for his work on the index of the Transactions of the soicety.

The membership dues were increased to $1.00 per annum, and Life Membership fixed at $20.00.

The annual election of officers yielded the following roster for the ensuing year:

President—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze.

Vice-Presidents—The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, Miss Adelaide Fries, The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, Abr. S. Schropp, Prof. A. R. Beck, Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, Dr. John W. Jordan, Prof. A. G. Rau, Eugene A. Rau, Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers, The Rev. S. H. Gapp, W. H. Milchsack, F. C. Stout.

Secretary, Librarian—The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Treasurer—Warren Siegfried.

Board of Managers—Wm. E. Henry, Aug. H. Leibert, J. Sam'l Krause, R. O. Beitel, Walter Crawford.

Library Committe — Dr. John W. Jordan, Theodore Kampmann, The Rev. P .S. Meinert, Warren Siegfried, The Rev. R. Henklemann, The Rev. G. F. Bahnsen, Andrew G. Kern.

Publication Committee—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Prof, A. G. Rau, H. J. Meyers.

Graveyard Committee—Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, W. H. Milchsack, Frank Martin, Albert O. Sturgis.

As Life Members the following were elected: Mrs. Thomas E. Semmel, H. O. Levers, W. D. Seyfried, Mrs. C. Detterer, H. A.

Doster, Robert M. Luckenbach, R. P. Hutchinson, Miss E. Burrows, A. W. Schmich, Mrs. W. L. Cortright.

Active Members—Hon. R. C. Stewart, Noel F. Mask, Mrs. Noel F. Mask, Fred B. Hartmann, Ralph M. Strickland, Frank J. Leibert, Eugene C. Fehr, Mrs. Thomas Milchsack, Mrs. Fernando Yost, Prof. Roy Hassler, H. A. Pfohl, Mrs. Isabella Milchsack, Fred J. Skarda, Miss Dagmar Ruth Skarda, The Rev. Frank Zilka, Prof. of Theology, University of Prague; The Rev. Fred Trafford, Mrs. R. Henklemann, The Rev. Edw. Stempel, Mrs. Albin Voigt.

Associate Members—Chas. S. Messinger, Prof. Edw. Hart, Mrs. Edw. Hart.

The salary of the Secretary-Librarian was fixed at $100.00.

VESPER MEETING, 1:15 O'CLOCK P.M.

The splendid weather was conducive to the crowding of the old Whitefield House to the utmost, for about two hundred and twenty-five members and guests were seated at the tables to enjoy the meal. A trombone choir from Bethlehem led the singing. After the vesper the President called the meeting to order once again. The list of members who had died during the past year was read, Mrs. Theodore Kampmann, Mrs. Fred J. Rice, The Rt. Rev. E. A. Oerter and The Rev. Walter Jordan, and the assemblage rose to sing the customary memorial hymn.

Miss Clara A. Beck read a paper entitled "An Honest Effort to Save Pennsylvania from the Moravians." "The Winning of a Bride by King Srong-Bsan-Sgam-Po" of Thibet, was then read by the Rev. H. B. Marx, missionary in British Thibet for fourteen years. "Into the Indian Territory in 1870" was the title of a paper read by the Rev. T. M. Rights, retired missionary to the Indians. Judge Trexler of Allentown, Pa., and Prof. Edw. Hart, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., also made brief remarks. A number of donations to both the Library and Museum were announced. Adjournment ensued.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 22, 1921

The annual business meeting of the society was held in the Museum room at the Whitefield House at 11:15 a.m. There were twenty members present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The treasurer's report was also read, accepted and placed on file.

The Publication Committee reported that the index of the Transactions of the society had been held up for a time at least by the accidental death of Br. Aug. H. Leibert, and later because of the impairment of the eyesight of the Secretary, who had undertaken to finish the work.

A communication asking permission to collect money to place a marker at the site of Gnadensee, Zeisberger's temporary mission station, near Millerton, N. Y., was presented, approved, and the President was requested to thank the correspondent for his interest and effort.

The Librarian's report was deferred until later in the day. Br. G. F. Bahnsen then reported the sad condition of the graves of our early missionaries in St. Croix, V. I., West Indies. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee. The President reported the proposal of Br. Paul de Schweinitz for the purchase of the Kingkinger property, next door to the Whitefield House. In accordance with the spirit of the joint action of the S. P. G. and the M. H. S. at the time of the donation of the Whitefield House, (see minutes of April 12, 1871) by John Jordan, Jr., the raising of the needed funds and methods of collection, was to be left in the hands of a joint committee of the S. P. G. and the M. H. S. The Executive Committee of the M. H. S. is to nominate the members of its society to this committee this afternoon at the vesper meeting.

The society heartily concurred in this proposal. The following officers were then elected to serve for the coming year.

President—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze.

Vice-Presidents—The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Prof. A. R. Beck, Abr. S. Schropp, Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, Prof. A. G. Rau, Eugene A. Rau, Mrs. E. L. Myers, Miss Adelaide Fries, W. H. Milchsack.

Treasurer—Warren Siegfried.

Secretary-Librarian—The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Board of Directors—J. Sam'l Krause, R. O. Beitel, Walter Crawford, W. E. Henry.

Publication Committee—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Prof. A. G. Rau, H. J. Meyers.

Library Committee — The Rev. G. F. Bahnsen, Theodore Kampmann, The Rev. P. S. Meinert, Warren Siegfried, Andrew G. Kern.

Graveyard Committee—Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, W. H. Milchsack, Frank H. Martin, Albert O. Sturgis.

The following were elected members of the Society:

Life Member—Miss Mary E. Geitner.

Active Members—William F. Hartmann, Mrs. Wm. F. Hartmann, George Sigley, Mrs. Geo. Sigley, Charles M. Andrews, Mrs. Edmund Neuda, Mrs. O. T. Sawyer, The Rev. Wm. S. Meek, Mrs. W. S. Meek, Mrs. E. P. Haubert, Mrs. Edythe M. Clewell, The Rev. Carl Helmich, Miss Hannah Whitson, Mrs. Frank Wunderly.

Associate Members—Prof. Howard Brinton, E. P. Butz.

VESPER MEETING, 1.15 O'CLOCK P. M.

Weather magnificent. For the first time since 1871 the M. H. S. vesper was held outside the time honored walls of the Whitefield House, the quarters there having become altogether too cramped to accommodate the ever increasing number of members and their guests. This year it was observed in the Social Rooms of the Nazareth Moravian church. After the collation the

president read the roll of the members who had departed this life during the past year, Dr. John W. Jordan, F. C. Stout, Robert W. Henry, Harry B. Eggert, Augustus H. Leibert, Clement T. Zoebisch, Mrs. Samuel Adams, Major H. J. F. Reusswig, W. H. Luckenbach, Mrs. S. C. Detweiler, Dr. Ewing Jordan, and the assemblage rose to sing the customary memorial hymn. The Secretary then read specially prepared memorials to Dr. John W. Jordan and Augustus H. Leibert, both of whom were deeply interested in the Society's welfare and gave lavishly of their time and gifts to the Library and Museum. This memorial was unanimously approved. The following resolution was also unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that a special Committee be appointed by the Executive Committee to co-operate with a like Committee of the S. P. G. to formulate such plans as may be deemed wise, to secure, if possible, a donor or donors, of the whole or a part of, the required amount to cover the first cost and necessary repairs of the so-called Kingkinger property recently purchased by the S. P. G.

The Rev. J. Max Hark read an interesting paper on "The Beginnings of Moravian Work in Lancaster, Pa. Dr. A. G. Rau read a paper prepared some years since by his father, the late Robert Rau ,entitled, "The Physicians of Early Bethlehem," and Mr. E. A. Rau read a paper by the same author on "The Pharmacists of Early Bethlehem." Bro. W. H .Vogler also read a paper entitled "Museum Values." The Treasurer then communicated an abstract of the treasurer's report for the past year. A unanimous vote of thanks was then tendered to each and every one who had in any wise contributed to the complete success of today's vesper, and it was cordially agreed that the change of time and place, under the circumstances, was not a calamity but an inspiration. Adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 28, 1922

The meeting was held in the Museum room of the Whitefield House at 11:15 a.m., with sixteen members present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The treasurer's report was read, accepted and placed on file. The Secretary's report reminded the society that the Executive Committee at a recent meeting had recommended to the annual meeting the propriety of making a substantial contribution to the John Jordan, Jr., Cottage fund. The secretary also reported that a number of valuable maps had been repaired during the year. He also reported that a granite boulder had been placed on the site of Zeisberger's Friedenshuetten, near New Castle, Pa., by the D. A. R.—a donation of fifty dollars having been made from our treasury toward the project some years since. A committee of the society visited the sites of our old Indian Mission stations at Shekomeko in New York and Pachgatgoch in Connecticut, and found the monuments there in need of repairs. A favorable report was made of the condition of the cemetery at old Gnadenhuetten, (Lehighton, Pa.) Considerable vandalism was reported concerning the old Indian Cemetery, so-called, here at Nazareth. The project of placing a marker at Gnadensee, (Millerton, N. Y.) was again taken up, and it was decided to send the Secretary there to make arrangements to complete the work according to various suggestions made today. The Librarian reported a fair lot of donations made to the Library and Museum during the year. Especially worthy of mention are the old organ, spinet, safe, etc., from the Y. M. M. A. of Bethlehem. Br. J. E. Weinland, of Dover, Ohio, reported some interesting developments, etc., about the Indian Cemeteries at Goshen and Gnadenhuetten, Ohio.

An appropriation of $200.00 was made to the John Jordan, Jr. Cottage fund, unanimously.

The election resulted in the choice of the following officers:

President—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze.

Vice-Presidents—The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, Abr. S. Schropp, Prof. O. R. Beck, Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, Prof. A. G. Rau, Eugene A. Rau, Mrs. E. L. Myers, Miss Adelaide Fries, The Rev. S. H. Gapp, W. H. Milchsack.

Secretary, Librarian—The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Treasurer—Warren E. Siegfried.

Publication Committee—The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Prof. A. G. Rau, H. J. Meyers.

Board of Managers—Eugene A. Rau, Albert Brodhead, R. O. Beitel, Walter Crawford, W. E. Henry.

Library Committee—Theodore Kampmann, The Rev. P. S. Meinert, The Rev. G. F. Bahnsen, Warren E. Siegfried, Andrew G. Kern.

Graveyard Committee—Hon. G. A. Schneebeli, W. H. Milchsack, Frank H. Martin, Albert O. Sturgis.

New members proposed and elected are:

Active Members—The Rev. Reinhold Reimer, The Rev. Robert H. Brennecke, Miss Annie Milchsack.

Associate Members—Mrs. Charles Chamberlain, Historian of the D. A. R.; M. W. Kelsey, Mrs. E. Grant Tice.

VESPER MEETING, 1.15 O'CLOCK P. M.

The Vesper was held in the Moravian Sunday School social rooms at 1:15 today. After the vesper meal the Secretary read the names of the members who had died since last annual meeting, James Borhek, J. Sam'l Krause, C. E. W. Harvey, The Rev. T. M. Rights, The Rev. S. J. Blum, The Rev. J. H. Clewell, J. Upton Myers, C. H. Wenhold, Mrs. Jane Krause, and the congregation rose to sing "They with patience, etc."

Bishop J. T. Hamilton gave a most interesting account of the Bi-centennial Celebration at Herrnhut, Saxony, last June.

The Rev. J. E. Weinland read "The Story of the Gospel by the Beautiful Spring," (Schoenbrunn, Ohio.) In this paper he recounted the invaluable and tireless services of David Zeisberger and his co-workers in behalf of the Indians along the Tuscarawas River, where he founded the first Church and School in the present state of Ohio. Attention was called to the new work of Dr. Edmund Schwarze, "History of Moravian Missions Among the Southern Tribes of the United States," a copy of which will be sent to each member of the society as soon as the printing can be finished.

The completion of Dr. H. E. Stocker's History of the Moravian Church in New York was also mentioned, and the book commended. Notice was given that both the Jordan Cottage and the Museum at the Whitefield House were open for inspection at the close of the meeting. Adjournment.

In Memoriam

Charles M. Dodson

was born at Huntingdon, Luzerne Co., Penna., March, 1836. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 28, 1917.

Levin F. Leibfried

was born at Nazareth, Penna., April 23, 1841. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., July 5, 1917. He joined the Society in 1869.

John F. Beitel

was born ————. He died in 1917. He joined the Society in 1871.

Edward J. Krause

was born at Bethlehem, Panna., Nov. 27, 1856. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Sept., 1916.

Mrs. C. H. Wenhold

was born ————. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., 1917.

George L. Baum

was born at Bethlehem, Penn., Jan. 23, 1838. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., 1917.

Mrs. Charles Orstforss

was born ————. She died in 1918. She joined the Society in 1897.

The Rev. W. H. Roth

was born ————. He died in 1918. He joined the Society in 1918.

PROF. J. F. KLINE

was born ————. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., 1917. He joined the Society in 1900.

GEN. W. E. DOSTER

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., Jan 8, 1837. He died at Bethlerem, Penna., July 2, 1919. He joined the Society in 1868. General Doster, who had rendered notable service in the Civil War, was a lawyer of great ability and well versed in local history.

M. A. BORHEK

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., Oct. 9th, 1842. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Sept. 7th, 1919. He joined the Society in 1894.

J. F. PEMSEL

war born ————. He died in England, 1919. He joined the Society in 1878.

THE REV. J. F. AUGUSTUS SCHULTZE, D.D., L.H.D.,

was born at Nowawes, near Potsdam, Prussia, Feb. 3, 1840. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Nov. 14, 1918. Having served as Vice President and Chaplain of the College of the Moravian Church at Niesky, Germany, he joined the faculty of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, at Bethdlehem, Penna., in 1870. He served as President of the last named institution from 1885 until within a few months of the time of his death. Noted as a scholar, linguist, and theologian, he was an authority on the history of the Moravian Church. He was a contributor to the publications of the Society and the author of various historical monographs and theological works.

R. W. LEIBERT

was born at Bethdehem, Penna., May 20, 1832. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Feb., 1919. He joined the Society in 1881.

THE RT. REV. M. W. LEIBERT, D.D.,

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., Aug. 22, 1855. He died in New York City, while serving as pastor of the First Moravian Church, New York City, in January, 1919. Besides serving as pastor of several leading congregations, Bishop Leibert was, for several years, a member of the Provincial Elders' Conference of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America. He was deeply interested in the history of the Moravian Church and, on occasion, contributed historical papers at the annual meetings of hthe Society.

JUDSON D. FRANCIS

wsa born in New York City, Jan. 19, 1854. He died in New York, 1918. He joined the Society in 1889.

JOHN REINHEIMER

was born at ————, Feb. 1, 1854. He died April 15, 1919. He joined the Society in 1899.

MRS. HENRY A. KRAUSE

was born May 16, 1863. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 10, 1919.

THEODORE R. SHIELDS

was born in Tobago, British West Indies, Oct. 19, 1886. He died in France, Oct. 10, 1918, during the World War, and while a member of the Seventy-Ninth Artillery of the Army of the U. S.

MRS. THEODORE KAMPMANN

was born at Bath, Penna., Feb. 21, 1858. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 15, 1920.

MRS. FRED J. RICE

was born ————. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., 1920.

THE RT. REV. E. A. OERTER

was born at Bassetterre, St. Kitts, British West Indies, May 27, 1843. He died at Dover, Ohio, Sept. 22, 1920. Besides serving various Moravian congregations, Bishop Oerter was, for two terms, a member of the Provincial Elders' Conference of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America.

THE REV. WALTER JORDAN

was born in Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1851. He died, 1920.

JOHN W. JORDAN, LL.D.,

was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 14, 1840. He died in Wilmington, Delaware, June 11, 1921. He joined the Society in 1859. Dr. Jordan was, for many years, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Editor of the Penna. Magazine of History and Biography. His literary work included many articles, brochures and books of historical subjects. He contributed to "the Moravian" and to the publications of the M. H. S. numerous articles on themes relating to the history of the Moravian Church.

F. C. STOUT

was born March 9, 1837. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., in 1920. He joined the Society in 1869.

ROBERT W. HENRY

was born at Bolton, near Nazareth, December 18, 1849. He died, at the same place, April 20, 1921. He joined the Society in 1868.

HARRY B. EGGERT

was born at Bethlehem, ————. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., 1920. He joined the Society in 1881.

Augustus H. Leibert

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., March 11, 1848. He died at Bethlehem in 1921. He joined the Society in 1871. He contributed to the publications of the Society various data of a statistical nature.

Clement T. Zoebisch

was born in New York City, ————. He died in New York City in 1921. He joined the Society in 1890.

Mrs. Samuel Adams

was born May 5th, ————. She died, at Bethlehem, Penna., ————. She joined the Society in 1899.

Major Henry J. F. Reusswig

was born, in Utica, N. Y., Sept. 2, 1880. He died, at Nazareth, Penna., June 20, 1921. He joined the Society in 1905. He served the Society as secretary for several years.

Willlam D. Luckenbach

was born at Bethlehem, Aug. 6th, 1840. He died in Easton, Aug. 13, 1921.

Mrs. S. E. Detwiller

was born at Bethlehem, April 6th, 1852. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., Sept. 10, 1921. She joined the Society in 1888.

Dr. Ewing Jordan

was born ————. He died in 1921. He joined the Society in 1868.

James T. Borhek

was born at Bethlehem, Oct., 1844. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., April 12, 1922. He joined the Society in 1888.

J. Samuel Krause

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 22, 1848. He died, at Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 29, 1921. He joined the Society in 1868. He was a member of various Boards of the Moravian Church and as member of the Executive Committee of the M. H. S. manifested a steady interest in the well-being of the Society.

C. E. W. Harvey

was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., March 14, 1846. He died July 9, 1922. He joined the Society in 1913.

C. H. Wenhold

was born near Nazareth, Penna., April 8, 1851. He died Nov. 14, 1921. He joined the Society in 1896.

The Rev. S. J. Blum, D.D.,

was born near Salem, N. Carolina, April 2, 1849. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 31, 1922. He joined the Society in 1871.

The Rev. J. H. Clewell, Ph.D.,

was born in Salem, N. Carolina, Sept. 19, 1855. He died in Philadelphia, Feb. 20, 1922. He joined the Society in 1910. He served, for many years, as President of Salem Academy and College and later as President of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women, at Bethlehem, Penna. He wrote and published a valuable "History of Wachovia in North Carolina."

Franklin H. Brunner

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., Oct. 8th, 1860. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., March 27, 1922. He was a member of various Boards of the Moravian Church.

THE REV. T. M. RIGHTS

was born at Friedland, N. Carolina, Aug. 7, 1846. He died in Philadelphia, April 1, 1922. He joined the Society in 1896.

MRS. JANE E. KRAUSE

was born at Bethlehem, Penna., May 3, 1844. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., July 28, 1922. She joined the Society in 1892.

J. UPTON MYERS

was born at New Oxford,, Adams Co., Penna., Oct. 25, 1858. He died, at Philadlephia, Penna., Dec. 4, 1921. He joined the Society in 1918.

The Contacts of the Moravian Church with the Iroquois League

By Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

We should be surprised, if the founders of the Moravian Church in America had not embraced in their missionary plans the six powerful Indian Nations that formed the Iroquois League. For when our settlements were commenced in the Forks of the Delaware, this league dominated Indian life from Maine to the Mississippi and from the great lakes to the Carolinas. The Mohicans, Wampanoags and Lenni Lenape, who furnished the first converts of Rauch and Mack and Post, had been subject to them for almost a century before the mission was founded in Shekemeko. Both Spangenberg, whose report to the General Synod at Ebersdorf in 1739 led to the sending of the colony to Pennsylvania for varied forms of missionary work, and Zinzendorf, who had received the report and had communicated it, were men accustomed to plan on a large scale and with an eye to strategic values. Neither of them long remained in ignorance of the importance of the Iroquois from the standpoint of missionary undertakings among the Red men. Both were acquainted with Conrad Weisser, the man employed as interpreter by the government of Pennsylvania in its dealings with the Indians; and his mastery of Indian tongues and his intimate acquaintance with Indian usages had been acquired by his having spent his young manhood, from the 17th to his 33rd year, in the Mohawk country. Indeed it was Conrad Weisser's representations, made to Spangenberg in 1736, concerning the degraded spiritual condition of the Indians, and in particular the tale he told of an experience of his own, that had led to the sending of Christian Henry Rauch from Wetteravia, in 1739, to missionate amongst them. In 1742 during the early days of his stay in Pennsylvania, Count Zinzendorf had visited Weisser in his home at Heidelberg in order to enlist his co-operation in this misionary work, co-operation that was secured, even though Weisser was disinclined to identify himself denominationally

with the Moravian Church. In 1745 he not only accompanied Spangenberg to Onondaga but also became a stated contributor to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, organized in that same year for home and foreign missions.

Quite aside of his to us quaint arguments for identifying the Indians in part with the ten lost tribes of Israel—an idea by the way cherished by the missionary John Eliot in the preceding century—Zinzendorf's observations concerning the Iroquois were in substantial harmony with those of the well-known Sir William Johnson, in estimating their numbers as comparatively small, and as placing the Mohawks nominally at the head of the league, though the Onondagas were recognized as possessing the actually dominant influence. Far from leaving the Six Nations out of his plans, Zinzendorf in November, 1742, noted down five proposed strategic centers for future missionary work amongst the Indians at large. Two of these centers were planned for evangelization amongst the Six Nations. One of these was Otstonwakin, the home of Andrew Montour, known also as Sattelihu, on a tributary of the Susquehanna. From this center the Tuscaroras and Senecas could be reached. The other should be located in the Wyoming Valley, whence the Gospel might be brought to the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas and the Mohawks. All this work should be under the supervision of the chief executive of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem.

Nor was all this a mere dream or passing fancy. The plan was held to with tenacity, with regard to all five centers, though untoward circumstances, as well as the opposition of nominal or actual Christians who totally misunderstood the character of the Moravian missionaries and the nature of their designs, frustrated its actual execution, till cruel wars imposed a final veto.

Manifestly the first barrier to be overcome, that the Gospel might be made acceptable to the Iroquois, was that of language. Of Algonquin in its various forms the missionaries had soon learnt something, and not a few Indians of that stock had some knowledge of English from their propinquity to the whites. But the speech of the Iroquois, in addition to presenting dialectic differences amongst the membership of their own league,

no more resembled the speech of the Algonquin peoples than does Russian resemble English.

Naturally the Moravians first turned to their friend, Weisser, for aid. He met their advances willingly, for he in turn wished for a tutor for his children, and promised to give lessons in Mohawk in exchange for such instruction in his home. John Christopher Pyrlaeus, a former student of Leipzig University, was accordingly sent to Heidelberg with his young bride. He was in his 26th year and had been ordained recently. She was a daughter of Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia. Arriving at Heidelberg in January, 1743, they spent half a year with Weisser. Then in the summer of that same year they proceeded to the Mohawk Valley, via the Hudson and Albany, evidently with the approval of Weisser, for they settled down not far from where his sister lived. They had been directed to a clergyman of the Church of England, named Barclay, at Hunter's Fort, a catechist amongst the Indians since 1735, and later a rector of Trinity Church, New York, where he died in 1764. But he was opposed to a mission amongst the Indians, unless conducted under the auspices of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in London. Pyrlaeus and his wife, therefore, found lodging in the cabin of a poor German settler, across the river from an Indian town. In September he resolved to push forward to Onondaga, the headquarters of the league, with Anthony Seifert, who had known missionary work amongst the tribes of Georgia. But on reaching the very confines of the purely Indian land, they met a sachem of the Six Nations, who first sought to dissuade, and then threatened violence, when he learnt of their design. Thus foiled in their purpose, the whole party returned to Bethlehem. But the plan was persistently kept in view. An effort was made to secure the services of an Indian from Freehold, New Jersey, as an instructor in Mohawk, but to no purpose. So Pyrlaeus himself was directed to open a school for future missionaries, and impart to them such knowledge of Mohawk as he had himself acquired. This school was opened in February, 1744, at Bethlehem, five men—one being young David Zeisberger—and the wife of one of the five entering on the study of the Mohawk and of the other Indian tongues also being prosecuted, a service which Pyrlaeus rendered in Bethlehem and

at the missionary settlement on the Mahoning until 1749. Three different works on the Mohawk and the Onondaga languages were the permanent product of his scholarly pen.

But it may well be asked, "What hope had Zinzendorf himself of ever being able to penetrate the barrier of suspicion and hate of the white man and of all his works, that distinguished the Iroquois?" From the very time when they met Champlain in battle at Ticonderoga, in 1609, they had been altogether jealous of the intrusion of whites within the limits of their lands. Neither English nor French could wholly trust them during the period of the rivalry of the two great colonizing European peoples. They fully shared the sentiments of the Indian who once said to an English emissary in the hearing of Christian Frederick Post: "You and the French are like the two edges of a pair of shears, and we are like the cloth which is cut to pieces between them." They explicitly made their demand upon the one Englishman, who had gained an influence with them, Sir William Johnson, to permit no representatives of the Christian religion to come among them. In July, 1755, when holding council with him the chief speaker of their deputation said: "The land that reaches down from Oswego to Schandowana, that is the Wyoming Valley, we beg may not be settled by Christians." Zinzendorf entertained no illusions with regard to their character. In a paper dated Shamokin, modern Sunbury, Sept. 29, 1742, he gives them credit for their savage virtues, writes that they "are admirable warriors in their way—faithful as friends, but implacable as foes; and yet even in the latter relation they act honorably." But he writes, also, that he had "been unable to discern any promising indications or signs of grace among them, excepting in the case of a few individuals. Their intercourse with the French and English has not been for good. In addition to the vices of civilized life they have thus acquired I find they have adopted erroneous views of religion." "They are to all outward appearance admirable hypocrites, and on account of their indomitable pride, as remote from Jesus as the heavens are distant from the earth." Their confederates, the Shawnese, are "a people wholly ignorant of and averse to Christians and Christianity."

Nevertheless, knowing what he did, and having clearly made

his estimate of the task, Zinzendorf was fully persuaded of the duty before himself and his Brethren, to seek to bring even these fierce and hostile heathen to a saving knowledge of Christ Jesus and of His new law of love. And Providence had opened for him and the Brethren a way to intercourse with the Iroquois.

During the year of Count Zinzendorf's visit to Pennsylvania, viz., in 1742, he made three journeys into the Indian country in the interest of Missions among that people. The first, undertaken with quite a number of companions on horseback, was to the then wild, forest-clad Indian country, north of the Blue Mountains, inhabited chiefly by Delawares, where Captain Harris, father of Teedyuscung, King of the Delawares, had formerly erected his lodge, and in particular to Meniolagomeka, where the Brethren later established a mission. On the 28th of July, as they mounted their horses for the last time, intending to recross the mountains and make Bethlehem by night-fall, Zinzendorf was seized with a presentiment, which he was powerless to shake off. He felt an irresistible conviction, that his presence was required at the home of Conrad Weisser, at Heidelberg, but just why, he did not know. Accordingly, he dismissed the rest of his party, and with two whites and one Indian made westwards for the Lehigh, which they forded, and then, pressing on southwest to the Schuylkill region, reached Conrad Weisser's home in Heidelberg on August 3. There they found certain deputies of the Six Nations, on their way homewards from Philadelphia, where they had been treating with the government of Pennsylvania to make a final settlement in connection with the much disputed Walking Purchase of 1727, and for the removal of the remaining Delawares from within the Forks of the Delaware. This "grand embassy," consisting of seventy chiefs who belonged to the Iroquois proper and thirty-four from other Indian tribes, had arrived at Philadelphia on the last day of June, the principal personage among them being Chief Canassatego, from Onondaga. Prior to their coming, the last named sachem had sent one of his sagamores, or counsellors, Caxhayton by name, already in February to announce their intention of later meeting the governor in conference. It was eight members of this important embassage, whom the Count unexpectedly found at Conrad Weisser's home, the Mohicans and Senecas not being

represented, and a chief of the Tuscaroras, Sawantka by name, characteristically not being in a sufficiently sober condition to appear at the first encounter. Caxhayton had his family with him. Now to this band, each one conscious of and accustomed to assert his personal dignity and also adept in veiling his emotions behind a mask of inscrutable stolidity of countenance, there unannouncedly enters the leader of the Moravians, one of his companions being John William Zander, a missionary, and it seems at present his interpreter into English. Imagine the astonishment of the Iroquois, when upon the entrance of these white strangers, the child of Caxhayton runs forward to Zinzendorf and throws her arms around his neck before them all, whilst Caxhayton himself hastens to embrace Zander. Looks of wonder are exchanged, and questions arise, as to what this most astonishing scene may mean. The explanation is this. During the stay of Caxhayton in Philadelphia as advance herald of the Six Nations, Zinzendorf had received him and his wife and child as guests in his own rented house in the city, and Zander at that time had served as their provider and messenger. The language of kindliness had bridged over the gulf of inability to converse. They had become friends. This was Zinzendorf's introduction to the powerful Canassatego and his fellow ambassadors, and now he understood his presentiment of a few days ago. He at once asked for a formal conference with the whole party. A little child's affection made it possible to grant his request. He told of the desire of his Brethren and himself, to bring to the Iroquois a knowledge of God, leaving it altogether to them to then follow their convictions, and promised that his messengers would at no time meddle with matters of state or of trade. His hearers retired for an hour's consultation. The upshot of all was that Canassatego, the sachem of the Onondagas, in the name of his people accepted Zinzendorf's coming to them in so unexpected a manner as a work of the Great Spirit, and promised to welcome him and his brethren at any time. In the name of the Iroquois he entered upon a treaty of friendship with him and them, which was forthwith confirmed by the present of a fathom of wampum, consisting of 186 white beads. This agreement was repeatedly alluded to during ensuing years, as a basis of approach to the Six Nations.

Zinzendorf returned to Europe in January, 1743. But the scheme of operations, sketched out by him whilst yet in Pennsylvania, was kept in view. The young mission in White Plains, New York, was maintained. In the same year, as has been told, Pyrlaeus and his companions tried to get to Onondaga via Albany. In this year, too, David Bruce and his wife, who could speak French, were sent to Otstonwakin, to the home of Madame Montour, and spent several weeks there—but without practical results.

But the mission amongst the Mohicans and Wampanoags had already fallen on evil days—not indeed from lack of success in winning converts; far from that. But when the enlightenment of the converts prevented whites from imposing on them and their godly life became a bitter reproach to some of their neighbors, bitter opposition arose and the tongue of slander attempted to undermine the work of the missionaries. In June, 1743, when on his way to the Mohawk land, Pyrlaeus and the missionaries Mack and Shawe had been arrested and given a hearing, only to be dismissed as innocent, but with an inhibition of their preaching. In October, 1744, matters culminated in the passing of an Act of Assembly in New York, against the Moravians, as "vagrant preachers." Notwithstanding this in the middle of the next month, Bishop Spangenberg and Captain Garrison proceeded to Schenectady to learn more about the Iroquois. Early next year, viz., 1745, David Zeisberger, who had been a student of Pyrlaeus, later himself to become a veritable apostle of the Indians, together with Frederick Post, the future pioneer of missions in Ohio and later on a valued negotiator with turbulent Delawares and Shawnees on behalf of the government of Pennsylvania, again attempted the route to the Iroquois via Albany. But when they reached Canajoharie, they were arrested as alleged agents of the French. Brought to New York, and imprisoned in City Hall, they were given a hearing before Governor Clinton, and discharged only in April, on the representations of Governor Thomas, of Pennsylvania, who vouched for their upright and harmless character and for the unpolitical nature of their undertaking.

As time passed, however, it became more and more evident, that the position of the converts from amongst the Mohican and

Wampanoag people in Shekomeko, and in the districts of Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch over the border in Connecticut, was becoming unbearable. Their very title to the lands on which they lived had been called in question. The most easy solution that presented itself, was for the Moravians to purchase appropriate lands not far from Bethlehem, and induce them to remove to Pennsylvania. But not only dare no undue pressure be brought to bear on them to this end; delicate negotiations were involved. For one of the slanders spread by hostile heathen Indians was to the effect, that the missionaries sought to convert the red men in order to make them slaves of the whites. Such a transfer of their abodes, even assuming their willingness to remove to Pennsylvania, must, therefore, take place only after their over-lords of the Iroquois league had a full understanding of all that was involved and had given their consent. To this end an embassy must be sent by the Brethren in Bethlehem to the headquarters of that league, in Onondaga. This was resolved on in the year 1745, and the chief executive of the Brethren, Bishop Spangenberg, deemed the matter of sufficient importance to undertake it himself. This journey, made with the knowledge and approval of the Governor of Pennsylvania, was attended with circumstances that were calculated to tax the endurance of a man of robust constitution and in the prime of life. It was well for Spangenberg that he could meet these conditions. He was now in the early forties and sound as a bell. Leaving Bethlehem on May 24, he reached Onondaga on June 17. The route led through Heidelberg, Lykens Valley, Shamokin (modern Sunbury), to Owego, along the Onondaga Creek, to Onondaga itself. Conrad Weisser had consented to be one of the party. Besides his personal friendship for Spangenberg and his interest in missionary work amongst the Indians, he had been commissioned by the government of Pennsylvania to further a treaty of peace between the Iroquois and Indians of the South. With them were also David Zeisberger, John Joseph Bull, a young ex-Quaker, now a Moravian missionary and named by the Indians Schebosh (that is, "Running Water"), Chief Shikellimy, the viceroy or chief agent of the Iroquois, stationed by them at Shamokin, a Delaware town, his son Andrew, and Andrew

Satellihu, assistant Indian interpreter for the government of Pennsylvania. Ten days before they reached their destination two Indian warriors overtook them, who had escaped only with their lives after defeat at the hands of Flathead Indians, some three hundred miles away. One of the two had lost his weapons, even his knife, and was almost naked, as he thus fled homewards through the wilderness. Him the travelers furnished with a proper outfit and sent on in advance, to tell his people of their coming. At certain points the trail was so bad, that their horses almost sunk in the morass, and could be extricated with greatest difficulty. At other times it was almost blocked by trees that had been uprooted by the wind. Or again holes between the roots of trees in the path formed veritable traps for the horses' hoofs. One horse, when hobbled for the night, slipped into the Susquehanna and was drowned. But at last Onondaga was made in safety, and a courteous welcome was extended. Their host was Aschantiono, at that time a partisan of the French, but later a warm friend and supporter of Sir William Johnson, who named him "Red Head," after 1755 the "speaker" of his nation. Prominent among the Indian leaders in the Councils held some days after the arrival of the strangers from Pennsylvania were Canassatego, now a man of about sixty, the former head of the embassage to Philadelphia three years before; one Tochanuntie or "The Black Prince," so named for his complexion, about the same age as the former, and reputed to be one of the greatest warriors the Iroquois league ever produced; and Caxhayton, the friend of Zinzendorf. After the sessions of the Council, which ended in a satisfactory manner, Spangenberg together with Conrad Weisser, Shikellimy and Sattelihu paid a visit to Oswego. The return journey began on June 29 and Conrad Weisser's home was reached on July 11. It, too, was attended with incidents that might have turned out very seriously, as for instance on July 6, when Zeisberger, riding beside a stream, fell with his horse into the water, and in falling was knocked unconscious. The purpose of the journey, had however been achieved. It was this, the winning of the consent of the Six Nations to the removal of the Christian Mohicans from Shekomeko to the Wyoming Valley. On Spangenberg's return, he

paid an early visit to the Mohican congregation, and made known the assent of the great league, he himself urging them to avail themselves of this permission. And in the light of future events, it would have been well for them had they followed his advice. But they were disinclined to make the venture, notwithstanding the untoward experiences lived through at their old seats. Again, when deputies of the Mohicans came to Bethlehem in 1746, he renewed the proposition, adding that Martin Mack and two Indian Christians had gone to Wyoming to perfect preliminaries for their transfer. But again a negative answer was received. This led to their being permitted to plant land near Bethlehem, and to the founding of Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning and of Meniolagomeka. But how different would have been the story of the Indian congregations and of their migrations during the French and Indian War and during Pontiac's Conspiracy, and after the murderous attack of the Paxton men on the captives in Lancaster, had the advice of Spangenberg been taken!

Already in 1746 the members of the Shekomeko congregation were deprived of their lands and found a new home near Bethlehem and at Wechquadnach, and in the following year their countrymen became exiles from Pechgatgoch and were thankful to be provided with a refuge at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning, later on to locate at Wyalusing, prior to further wanderings westward, to Ohio. Nor did their pilgrimage cease even there.

But in the latter part of the forties a new missionary movement was made with a view to the prosecution of the plans formulated by Zinzendorf during his stay in Pennsylvania. At Shamokin chief Shikellimy, or Swatane, as he is sometimes known, greatly desired the establishment of a smithy. Merely to have an iron implement repaired, it at present had to be sent miles away to Heidelberg, or even to Philadelphia. To the founding of a smithy at Shamokin the governor of Pennsylvania gave his consent, for Shikellimy and his people had by this time declared for the English as against the French, and the governor was also willing to have this smithy in charge of Moravians. Early in 1747 John Hagen and Joseph Powell proceeded to Shamokin, to build the necessary quarters, and in July

the blacksmith, Anthony Schmidt, joined them. Later in the same year Post and Jacob Lerch were added to the missionary forces at this point. Others also labored there in the following years. But the horrible massacres along the frontier during the French and Indian War compelled a withdrawal in 1755.

In July, 1749, a deputation of the Six Nations came to Philadelphia to treat with the government. Conrad Weisser's services were called in. He drew the attention of Spangenberg and Pyrlaeus, who were in the city at the time, to the opportunity for again getting into personal touch with these powerful tribes. Visits were exchanged by them with three chiefs of the Senecas, to be followed by a more formal council, participated in additionally by a Cayuga chief and two sons of Shikellimy for the Indians, and by John de Watteville, Cammerhof and Nathanael Seidel besides the above mentioned, for the Moravians, It paved the way for a cordial invitation to visit the Iroquois, an invitation that led to the sending of Cammerhof and Zeisberger to Onondaga in the following May.

In various respects their journey was the most critical contact of the Moravians with the Six Nations. It was marked by all the characteristics of travel and life in the wilderness at that day, and also by its disclosure of the traits of the Red men, that come to the surface during it. Both the messengers of the Moravian Church were extraordinary persons. Cammerhof was not yet twenty-nine years of age, but four years before this the office of a bishop had been conferred on him by his Brethren, assembled in Synod at Zeist in Holland, so clearly were his utter devotion to Christ and his intellectual gifts and his eloquence recognized by them. Dedicated by a pious mother to the ministry from birth, he had been a student at a then famous preparatory school at Klosterbergen near Magdeburg, and at the University of Jena. He was in America as a special assistant to Bishop Spangenberg. His companion, David Zeisberger, was practically the same age as Cammerhof; but he had frequently come into contact with the Indians, and had been a scholar of Pyrlaeus, as well as one of the companions of Spangenberg on the visit to Onondaga five years before. His acquaintance with Indian character and with the usages of the Indians, his knowledge of the Mohawk tongue and of wood-craft and the

soundness of his rugged frame were to prove invaluable in the present undertaking, and he himself was destined to carry the Gospel to Indian peoples during a career of more than sixty-three years.

Leaving Bethlehem on May 14, Cammerhof proceeded to a Nanticoke village in Wyoming, where he met Zeisberger, who came hither alone from Shamokin. They had secured the services of a Cayuga chief as a guide, one Hahotschaunquas, who was traveling home with his wife and a son and daughter, about 14 and 4 years of age respectively. This Cayuga proved most helpful to them, and later his mother befriended them when in great straits. The party left the Nanticoke town on May 28, paddling up the Susquehanna in two canoes. It took them till June 19 to reach Onondaga. The journey had been full of toil and danger. Many a portage had to be made. They were drenched by terrible downpours during thunder storms. At night their best shelter was often a frail lodge of birch-bark, built by them in Indian fashion. For food they were dependent on their own marksmanship, glad to bring down a deer, or a wild duck, a wild turkey, or some pigeons, to secure which might mean a long tramp through swamp or forest. Or their diet might be varied by fish, caught by them. But sometimes it was dangerous to stand on the rocks of the bank and cast out a line, as on Sunday, May 31, when snakes in great numbers were seen lying on the stones and basking in the sun. Sometimes the frail canoes were damaged and had to be thoroughly repaired. When their canoes could serve them no longer, horses were bought at the southern end of the country of the Cayugas, but at times almost proved a hindrance, the trail was so bad, lying through marshy land and being impeded by fallen trees.

Arrived at Onondaga they were received into the house of Canassatego, who promptly secured their admittance to the council of the Six Nations, that happened to be in session at the time. At first all seemed very propitious. Their welcome was a cordial one, especially on the part of two others who had been at the treaty in Philadelphia. Did time permit, it would be most interesting to enter in spirit into the famous long house in Onondaga, and listen to the proceedings, conducted with all

the decorum and formality of a parliamentary assembly. The council house itself stands well within the oval town, protected by a strong palisade, its houses, some of them eighty feet long by seventeen, roofed with elm-bark and divided within into apartments for several families, the dirt-floor covered with mats or rushes. For these people are not lacking in a degree of civilization. Around the village stretch extensive fields of maize and beans and squashes, with here and there an apple orchard. Within the Council House of bark there run six seats along each side, and each seat has place for six persons. None are admitted besides the members of the council, unless they are specially privileged persons. Silence is maintained, whilst business is brought forward by speakers, charged with the particular affair in hand, and this business is chanted in a pecular, singing tone. Meanwhile each item presented is accompanied or confirmed by appropriate presentation of a belt or string of wampum, so worked, that it will hereafter serve to recall what has been said. At noon two men bring in a large kettle on a pole, and proceed first of all to present food to the guests of the League, large wooden ladles and a hook being employed to fish out portions desired. Fragrant clouds of tobacco all the time ascend from the pipes that aid the councillors to preserve calmness in their deliberations. On the present occasion Canassatego consented to act as speaker for the visitors, and intoned with due emphasis his explanation of each belt of wampum, as it was presented. He laid special stress on the fact that they were not traders seeking furs, nor men with an eye to the Indians' lands, but true servants of God, who wished to bring a knowledge of Him to the Iroquois. To this end they wished for permission to learn the language thoroughly, by having two of the Brethren remain among the Six Nations for a year or two. Further, on the way hither they had been charged with a mission from the subject Nanticokes, who requested through them the consent of their over-lords to permit the Brethren to set up a smithy somewhere in the Wyoming Valley. And finally mention was made of the invitation extended by the three chiefs of the Senecas, whilst in Philadelphia, and the approval of the Grand Council was now requested, that Cammerhof and Zeisberger might comply with the invitation. Every item of this busi-

ness was emphasized in Indian fashion by the presentation of wampum.

Presents of needles and scissors and kindred trifles closed the interview, and the two strangers departed from the Council House full of hope. But, when their friend Canassatego rejoined them after some hours, a grievous disappointment had to be endured. He told them that he could do nothing with his people. No conclusion could be reached that day, for all had become intoxicated in the meantime.

Indeed it was rarely, if ever, the custom of an Indian Council to speedily come to a definite and final conclusion about any proposition laid before it. Everything must be considered and reconsidered and looked at from every possible side, before the binding reply might be given. In the present instance the answer was most unusually delayed. First of all the Iroquois were traditionally jealous of permitting white men within their boundaries, and not without reason. Furthermore the chiefs were every day expecting representatives of Canadian tribes, who had embraced the side of the French and who were seeking to draw them into hostility against the English: the decision for war or peace was hanging in the balance. And beyond and above all, revels and carousings were going on that would last until the present supply of liquor was exhausted. That the time might not be wholly wasted, the two white men proposed to pay the promised visit to the Senecas in the interval and obtained permission to do this. Canassatego furnished them with a minute description of the trail they must take. Their food, cittamum, that is corn roasted in the ashes and pounded into flour, they would have to carry on their backs. Five days after having reached Onondaga, they set out on foot. It was a season of heavy thunderstorms, and if the journey to Onondaga had been trying, this was very much worse. The swamps and tangled forests would have been impossible for horses. On their way they passed the old capital of the Cayugas, Ganechtage, destroyed by De Nonville, in 1687.

Whilst yet on their way, in the first Seneca town reached by them, on June 30, their guide, the Cayuga chief, became as drunk as the Indians of the place. It would have been at the risk of their lives had they remained there, and even so, on

their leaving their drunken friends in the exhilaration of their spirits fired their guns, as a send off, so that the balls whistled over the heads of the travelers. Half famished, Cammerhof's health began to give way. When on July 2 they reached their destination, Zonesschio, modern Geneseo—(Beautiful Valley), a Seneca town of forty or more long huts, in the midst of a pleasant plain, watered by a river flowing into Lake Ontario, it became evident, that they might be glad to get away again alive. The people were mad with drink, including Garontian-echqui, their prospective host, from whom they had received the invitation in Philadelphia. They were indeed placed for safety in a small hut under guard of the chief's youngest brother. But here throngs of drunken men and women came to gaze at them as rare objects of curiosity. So the wife of the sachem begged them to climb up into the garret of a hut, as a place of concealment. This loft was just large enough to lie down in, immediately under the bark roof, an intensely hot hole, with only a small opening at the gable end, through which they finally did manage to squeeze, when escaping at dawn five days later. During those days there were times when two hundred drunken savages raged and howled through the town. Their former friends, who had seemed so gentlemanly in Philadelphia, when they now tried to get into conversation with them, were not sufficiently sober to understand what they said. One day Zeisberger was compelled to fight his way through a crowd of drunken follows, when he went to the river for a kettle-full of water to make tea for Cammerhof, who burnt up with fever, and for two days this tea was all the nourishment Cammerhof could take.

After their escape, whilst on their way back to Onondaga they faced starvation, living as they did on a pittance of cittamum and on huckleberries and a few pigeons, Zeisberger managed to shoot—for their supply of powder had run low. In their extremity they were given food by the grandmother of their Cayuga guide, though she herself was almost out of corn meal. The guide himself had previously deserted them in his fear of the drunken Senecas.

On reaching Onondaga again, they did not find their friend, Canassatego. He had gone to Oswego. But they learnt, that

the hatchet had been buried between the Indians of Canada and the Iroquois. After other ten weary days of waiting, Canassatego's return made possible the final meeting of the Council. Its verdict was favorable. Two Brethren may come to Onondaga and remain there a year to learn the language, and the lands of the Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas should also be open to them.

But as for the request of the Nanticokes, touching the founding of a smithy in Wyoming, it could not be granted for the present. After all—it was said—the distance from that valley to Shamokin was not so great. Let them for the present be patient and take what needed repairs to Shamokin.

As soon as possible after this reply had been received, the start was made for home, the route via the Susquehanna being chosen, that the Nanticokes might be given the decision of their over-lords. On the way Cammerhof suffered much from fever; but Bethlehem was at last reached soon after midnight between August 16th and 17th.

The mission had not been wholly unsuccessful; but in the event it turned out, that permission to stay in the lands of the Iroquois for a season had been dearly purchased. First of all, the enemies of the Brethren either misunderstod the purpose of this embassage or pretended to misunderstand it. The report spread abroad, that Cammerhof had secretly stirred up the Six Nations against the English and had warned them against selling any of their lands; nay more, that by making presents to Canassatego, he had excited the envy of other chiefs and thus occasioned that sachem's death, which followed a few weeks after the Brethren left Onondaga. It was even said, that the Brethren aspired to get the political transactions between the Indians and the government of Pennsylvania into their hands. Cammerhof and other Brethren went therefore to Philadelphia, and successfully sought an interview with the Governor, to explain the embassage to the Six Nations. As for being agents of the French, they pointed out that the missionary work, which was their primary object, would have been inhibited, if the French became masters of the Mohawk Valley and of the West. The presents, which were usual in connection with a formal interview with an Indian Council, had been divided

amongst all the chiefs. Canassatego was an old man for an Indian at the time of his death. On principle the Brethren scrupulously and steadily refrained from meddling in any affairs between the government and the Indians, apprehending that this would lead to misunderstandings on the part of the Indians themselves and so would interfere with the preaching of the Gospel among them by the Brethren. The Governor expressed himself as fully satisfied. But it may be that this slander did delay the granting of a passport to the two men, who were selected to proceed to Onondaga, on the errand of learning the Iroquois dialects. At least these missionaries did not go thither until the greater part of two years had passed.

For Cammerhof himself the visit to the North had very serious consequences. Its hardships undermined his constitution. Tuberculossis set in, and sapped his vital strength. On the following April 28th he died, at Bethlehem, not yet thirty years of age. He had been in contact with the Indian race only four years. Yet in that short time, he had conducted himself so honorably, and with such manifest interest in their welfare and such evident zeal for His Master, that when on the occasion of the next visit Zeisberger announced to the sachems assembled in council at Onondaga, that he had passed away, their speaker bade him carry this message back to Spangenberg:

"Brother Tgirhitonti (Spangenberg's Indian name), the Aquanoschioni, that is, the Iroquois, say to you, give diligence and seek out among you Brethren another Gallichwio "A good message" (Cammerhof;) for this we certainly know, that he loved the Aquanoschioni well, and was toward them an upright, honest man, in whose heart no guile was found."

Yet even before the contemplated visit of the two who should be pioneers of Moravian Missions in Onondaga, another contact of the Brethren with a people subject to the Iroquois is to be noted. In April, 1752, messengers arrived at the Christian Indian village of Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning, bringing piteous reports of conditions in the Wyoming Valley. Something very like starvation was to be feared there among the Nanticokes and Shawnees, owing to failure of the previous harvest. Word of this state of distress was quickly passed on from Gnadenhuetten to Bethlehem. At the latter place the

authorities promptly had a large quantity of flour collected and forwarded to the former, with a message for those starving on the Susquehanna, that it was at their disposal, if they would only provide for its transportation from Gnadenhuetten. This act of charity touched the hearts of the heathen. On July 20, a company of fifty Nanticokes and fifteen Shawnees arrived in Bethlehem. Among them was the famous Shawnee chief, Paxnous. Their coming had been announced by runners sent ahead from the Mahoning, who said that the deputation wished to express the gratitude of their people for the timely help. As they approached Bethlehem, their chant of thanksgiving could be heard, and it was seen that the men marched in formal array, with guns reversed over their shoulders. In advance strode a chief bearing a huge pipe of peace, all decorated with gay ribbons. The leaders of Bethlehem, on their part, appear to have been quite equal to the occasion. The strangers were received in state, the people having assembled before the Brethren's House. The music of the trombones added dignity to the reception. Lodgings were ready for the Indian visitors, special barracks having been erected just across the Monocacy, and a steaming meal had been prepared. This was Friday. Hardly was their supper finished, when a bell rang out. The strangers inquired its meaning. When they were told that it was a summons to the customary evening worship, tired though they were, the Indians' sense of propriety led most of them to find their way thither to participate reverently, even though they failed to understand what was said. Saturday was a rest-day after the long journey in the heat of Summer. On Sunday morning arrangements were made for a special service conducted in the Indian language. In addition to the visitors from the Susquehanna one hundred and thirty-six of their race were present from Gnadenhuetten and Meniolagomeka. In the afternoon holy baptism was administered to an Indian woman of the latter place, the wife of a Christian, one Andrew. She received the name of Anna. And there followed a service for the children, during the course of which the infant son of Andrew and Anna was also presented to the Lord in holy baptism, and given the name of Balthasar. The solemn council, held after these days of rest and of worship naturally took on itself more

of an Indian character, with the uttering of formal speeches, translated not only into European languages, but for the sake of the converts present also into the Mohican and vice versa, and made emphatic by belts of wampum. The upshot of all was a renewal of the friendship knit by Count Zinzendorf and confirmed by Spangenberg, and by Cammerhof and Zeisberger, with a reaffirming of the permission, given two years before, that two Brethren might come and live among the Six Nations; and on the other hand the reply given by Spangenberg, that Martin Mack, David Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt were on the point of leaving for Onondaga, and that the Brethren desired their Nanticoke and Shawnee friends to repeat their visit again within three months. Finally, they were dismissed with presents, tobacco for the men, and two small baskets full of needles and thread and thimbles and scissors and pins and ribbons for their women. Even the children of Bethlehem did their part, giving as their present five bushels of flour.

Again in March of the following year a deputation of Nanticokes and Shawnees came, this time in the name of the Iroquois, to cordially invite the Christian Indians of the Lehigh region to remove to the Susquehanna, to the Wyoming Valley. To this invitation Bishop Spangenberg after formally conferring with his red Brethren replied, that the Moravian Church would leave it wholly to them to act in this matter according to their own mind, giving assurance, however, that if they chose to take up land in the Wyoming Valley, the Church would diligently maintain its connection with them there.

Only a few days after the conclusion of the treaty with Paxnous and his associates, in July, 1752, as Spangenberg had declared, the Brethren Mack, Zeisberger and Rundt, armed with a passport from the Governor of Pennsylvania, left Bethlehem for Onondaga—via Albany. Even by this route the journey took the greater part of a month. On Aug. 20 they reached the Indian capital. Days of tedious delay followed, before the chiefs could be assembled to welcome them, delay caused by the old trouble, the drunkenness of the sachems entitled to participation in the proceedings. When at last the Council did come together, the outlook promised well. It was agreed they might remain amongst the Iroquois for a couple of years, "that

all might tell what was on their hearts." And it was on this occasion that the high tribute was paid by one of the chiefs to the memory of Cammerhof.

Matters having advanced thus far, Mack returned via Albany, for he had been sent only as a companion of the others.

But alas, in spite of the friendly intentions of many of the chiefs, the stay in Onondaga was rendered very largely futile by the more or less constant carousings, made possible by the traders, especially those from Canada, who brought in rum to exchange for furs and roots, gathered by the Indians. The latter themselves told the missionaries that drunkenness was one of the curses of the Iroquois life. One of the old men asked Zeisberger, why the whites persisted in making strong drinks, for they were the cause of the ruin of his people. At times, too, the food was very scanty.

On November 6th the two missionaries therefore set out for Cayuga, in the hope of a better outlook there. Alas! a vain hope. For on the way thither they learnt that a trader had come with rum. Pandemonium reigned in Cayuga. Zeisberger's life was in gravest danger. A Dutch trader made an assault on him with drawn knife, and he was saved only by the Indians themselves. Nothing remained but to return to Onondaga for the winter.

But here again the same old experiences followed. Four days after their arrival a woman brought three kegs of rum from Oswego into the very house where the two Brethren were lodging. Soon they learnt that more than twenty kegs of the stuff had been brought to the Indian town, and a very carnival of drunkenness set in. So they resolved to cut their visit short and return to Pennsylvania before the heavy snows of winter set in. In this resolve they were soon confirmed by the leaving of the majority of the men——for the winter hunt, for trapping or for war. Few remained, except the very old and the women and children. Little prospect appeared of their accomplishing much by staying. So in spite of the fall of the first heavy snow on November 23, with the likelihood of a difficult trail through the wilderness to the first settlements of white men, and notwithstanding the concern expressed by a

chief, Otschinachiatha, who had shown intelligent interest in their business and now feared they would be lost in the forests, they set out on the morning of the 26th with heavy packs on their backs, promising to return in Spring. For the corn and other food, bought by them during their stay, and for their lodgings, they first made payment in black or white wampum beads, the Indian currency. As expected, the trail was very bad indeed. It took them a week to make Schenectady. But by the 15th of December they were back in Bethlehem. The special purpose of their visit had failed of accomplishment.

Contrary to expectations, Rundt never returned with Zeisberger. He seems to have found the Iroquois language too difficult. But the indefatigable Zeisberger was given another companion in the person of Henry Frey, a young man of thirty, only slightly younger therefore than himself. Together they left Bethlehem on April 23, 1753, via the Susquehanna route, just a month after the second visit of the deputies of the Nanticokes to Bethlehem, a deputation in which three Iroquois chiefs participated. Part of the way their supply of food was very precarious, and they would have been in great straits, had aid not been given by a band of Nanticokes, whom they met. These people were preparing to leave the Wyoming Valley, having been ordered by the Iroquois to settle near the present Binghampton. Not till June 8th did the missionaries reach Onondaga. Though welcomed very kindly, ominous tidings were received. A belt of wampum from the Governor of Canada announced his designs against the region of the Ohio. He proclaimed that he was on his way thither with all his men, and held the tomahawk firmly in his hand, so that he would destroy all who should oppose him. He indeed assured the Six Nations, that it was not his desire to harm them, but that he was about to attack the English. Meanwhile the young braves of Onondaga had been sent off to Ohio, in order to learn for themselves what were the real intentions of the French. Soon it was known that the Canadian forces had crossed Lake Ontario in great numbers. It was said, that so many people had never before been see together. Great evils were to be feared from all this. During the days that followed prisoners were brought in, and drunken festivities were held in honor of the returning war-

riors, so that their hosts advised the Brethren to spend days and nights in hiding in the forests.

Some months later they met Sir William Johnson, who came to treat with the Iroquois, whom he held to the English side. Until the new corn became ripe conditions prevailed amongst the Indians, that almost approached a state of famine. Food had to be procured from a considerable distance and often at that with difficulty. Many of the people subsisted on roots and wild herbs, gathered in the forest. Sometimes such roots had to be boiled for twenty-four hours to extract the poison from them. The Brethren made themselves useful, cutting fire-wood for the women and hollowing out canoes for the men. They built a bridge over a creek. They hollowed out a wooden-mortar for an old woman, that she might stamp her corn. They built a solidly constructed log-hut for their friend, Otschinachiatha, known in Albany as The Bundt. From another old man they learnt the legendary history of his people. He gave them the Indian version of the creation, and asserted that his forefathers had been in the country for more than a thousand years. But on October 4th they found their friend The Bundt, in a sad mood. He urgently advised them to leave, saying that he and his people had stood in fear of the French for months, and now did not know what turn matters might take. God only knows, he said; and besides they might get into yet greater straits for food. So he advised them to return for the present, and come back next Spring. Very reluctantly Zeisberger and Frey came to see the necessity of following this kindly meant advice. So on October 13th farewell was said to Onondaga and to men there who had become real friends. En route they learnt that they had not started a day too soon. The very day they left Chenango en route for the Susquehanna the war-cry had been brought there from Onondaga: the Six Nations were gathering in all their towns against the French. Bethlehem was reached on November 12th.

Notwithstanding the shadows of war that hung heavily over the forest regions of the middle colonies, yet another attempt was made by the Brethren to establish themselves in Onondaga. In June, 1754, Zeisberger left Bethlehem with Charles Frederick, a native of Holstein, now thirty-nine years of age,

and made the Indian capital on July the 21st, traveling via Albany. This time an entire winter was spent in the land of the Iroquois. It was June the 4th of the next year before they returned, but once again they had experienced disappointment, following after a warm welcome. Three days after their arrival in Onondaga, a pathetic message from the Nanticokes was considered by the great Council of the league. This message, made emphatic by suitable accompaniments of wampum, constituted a most earnest petition from the subordinate tribe. It graphically pictured the curse that had been brought on the Indian race by drink, and earnestly prayed the Council to take measures to stem this evil. The argument was as follows: It is quite evident that there are now so few Indians, where they had been so numerous formerly. The cause of this falling off is their use of too much rum. Let the Indians try to do without rum for but four years even, and they will be astonished at the increase of population, and at the decrease of diseases and early death. All this is the result of rum drinking, which is also the primary cause of famine amongst them, occasioned by their not planting their crops at the proper time." But the members of the Council were of diverse minds, as seems not infrequently the case when the control or prohibition of the liquor traffic is under discussion. Nothing was done. The dairy remarks: "Now ,as before, there is no end to drinking." Quarrels amongst the men were the order of the day—and of the night. One evening the host of the missionaries got into a drunken row with a woman, coming to blows with her, so that the visitors had to part them. Rumors of the course taken by public affairs kept all in excitement. All minds were disturbed by the danger from approaching war-parties. One day it was announced that French Indians had plundered a town above Albany and had made threats against that town. Another day it was said that Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, had declared war against all Indian tribes.

In the midst of all this Zeisberger and Frederick went on building their log cabin, and got it finished before deep snow set in, a little cabin thirteen and a half feet by twelve and a half, inside measurement, and roofed with shingles. After winter began in earnest their food-supply gave them anxiety,

for they had to depend on what they could get from the Indians in exchange for their services, grinding axes, sharpening tools, felling trees, cutting fire-wood, doing blood-letting and so forth. Once their stock fell so low, that they had to dole out to themselves as little as four spoonfuls of flour a day. Zeisberger was glad to accept an invitation from Chief Kaschwechtioni or Red Head to go hunting with him, an expedition that lasted from Dec. 12 to Jan. 2. Opportunities did arise for speaking with individuals on religious truth, for pointing out to them, that to learn to sing and say prayers and go to church was not enough; but that they must learn to know their Creator. Some signs also appeared, that their red friends expected them to remain permanently in Onondaga. But the old impediment arose again and again, the curse of fire-water. It might happen that a visitor came to the cabin, begging tobacco. When in the course of conversation Zeisberger asked the man, if he did not want to have God's word made plain to him, he would reply: "Let it be! Today I am drunk. Tomorrow, when I am sober, I will call again." But that convenient season never came. Once two fellows, a Nanticoke and a Tuscarora, who claimed to be a special friend of Zeisberger's demanded admittance to the cabin after dark. When that was refused, they burst in the door. But then they could not find their way out in the darkness, they were so full of rum. They made a night of it at the missionaries' house. Noisy and quarrelsome in the extreme, they seemed bent on a fight with the white men. When David told them to begone to their own quarters, as they were not acting like the friends they claimed to be, the Tuscarora said: "When you get to my town, I will fight you." Yet after sleeping off their drunkenness, they seemed ashamed of themselves.

No wonder, when all circumstances are considered, no wonder the attempt to found a mission at Onondaga proved practically a failure. And yet Zeisberger at least had no intention of confessing it to be such. He proposed to return once more after a visit to Bethlehem in the summer of 1755. But his purpose was vetoed by the terrible public calamities that followed, and by circumstances that threatened to be accompanied by the extermination of all the red men, who had confessed Christ and taken up the pursuits of peace and industry. True a complete

failure and only failure could not be written across the record of the several brave attempts to win Onondaga. An impression had been made. Zeisberger and his friends were held in high esteem there. The Bethlehem Diary, under date of August 2, 1755, in recording a missionary festival, tells how Spangenberg in his address on that occasion, stressed two indications of the esteem in which the people of Onondaga held Zeisberger. In the first place, when the children would call out after him, "Assaroni," lit. "Makers of Knives"—first applied to the Dutch, that is, "White Man," their elders would correct them and say, "No, Ganousseracheri is an "Aquanoschioni" (an Iroquois) not as "Assaroni." And in the second place, after he and Frederick had completed their log cabin in Onondaga, the Great Council of the Iroquois gave into their care many fathoms and belts of wampum, their entire archives.

Zeisberger, however, never returned to the Iroquois capital in order to resume an attempt at a mission there, though he did pay two additional visits to the place. For now a storm almost elemental in its severity broke over the entire missionary work of the Moravian Church amongst the Indian peoples. One month and two days after his return to Bethlehem, General Braddock, whom the British government had sent as commander in chief against the allied French and Indians, suffered his terrible defeat near Fort Duquense, and himself fell in the battle. That was on July 6th. Throughout the remainder of that summer and in the autumn the storm of savage warfare raged all along the frontier of Pennsylvania. Massacre and ravage and fire marked the advance of cruel raiders. To the infuriated and desperate settlers all Indians looked much the same; in their minds none were to be trusted. Away with them all, including the converts of the Moravian missionaries. Not even the massacre of missionaries at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning, nor the sheltering of refugees by the hundreds at Nazareth and Bethlehem during the awful months when Pennsylvania lay open to the savage allies of the French could completely conquer all prejudices. Then followed Pontiac's conspiracy and uprising in 1762, with the memorable siege of Detroit. This was no suitable season for again venturing into the lands of the Iroquois league, especially since its constituent tribes themselves became

divided in their allegiance, some submitting to the influence of Sir William Johnson, and some, like the Senecas, listening to the fiery appeals of the wily Ojibway, Pontiac.

Yet twice again Zeisberger did have occasion to remind of the friendships he had knit up with Iroquois in the fifties. Both visits fell in 1768, in April to Cayuga; in October to Onondaga and Cayuga. On the former occasion his companions were four Christian Indians, their journey having its starting-point at Wyalusing. Here in May, 1765, Friedenshuetten, the second village with this name, had been founded ten miles above Wyoming, as a home for the poor remnant of the Christian red men of the Lehigh region, and especially for those of Nain after their terrible experience in consequence of the mistrust and hate stirred up by the previous war, survivors as they were of the months of confinement and of fever in the barracks in Philadelphia. Zeisberger and Schmick were their missionary leaders. And now in April, 1768, the former, with some of their own men had undertaken a mission on their behalf. Its purpose was to obtain the final and formal consent of the Iroquois League to the settlement of these Christian refugees of their own race in Wyalusing and their occupation of a considerable tract of land there, in place of their being removed, as was threatened, to Lake Cayuga, in virtue of a decree of the Great Council at Onondaga. The mission was successful, an important sachem of the Cayugas, Togahaju by name, speaking for the League, and giving its consent to the sojourn of the Christian red men in Wyalusing. But a few months later a report came that the great chiefs at Onondaga were not satisfied with his action. Therefore in autumn Zeisberger once more followed the trail to the Iroquois capital. On this journey he had with him as his companion, Gottlob Senseman. This mission also met with success, for the Great Council stood by the action of the Cayuga sachem, but laid emphasis on their demand that no white trader was to be permitted to build and settle in Wyalusing. Zeisberger was also asked, whether he would not come and build himself a new house in Onondaga, "as the old one had gone into decay." In his reply to this invitation he thanked his Indian friends for acknowledging him as a naturalized member of their nation, and continued: "Of this I am glad, but all

this is not enough for me. But when I can hear and see among you, that you have a desire to become acquainted with God our Creator, who has loved mankind and you, and that you desire to hear of Him; when this is once your desire, let me know; for I love you, and would like to see you become a happy people."

But tidings of such a desire on the part of the Six Nations never reached Zeisberger and his fellow-missionaries. The times proved more and more inopportune for the planting of the standard of the Prince of Peace amongst their lodges. For the final struggle of the rival white nations for the mastery of Canada had already inflamed the war-spirit of the savages who were coveted as allies by both. Their old hatred of the French had turned the scale of their allegiance in this contest, even as it later accounted for their taking England's part against the Colonies, after tidings reached them of the alliance of the Colonies with the French. In 1758, the great war-chief "Red Head" had sent out his call from Onondaga that summoned the Iroquois braves to cross Lake Ontario, and aid the English in capturing Fort Frontenac. After the Cross of St. George waved over Quebec the wiles of the ambitious Ojibway, Pontiac, had seduced at least the Senecas from the English alliance, and years of ravage and plunder, in connection with the siege of Detroit had followed, during which it would have been utterly impossible for the Moravians to settle in the lands of the Six Nations, even had their great missionary pioneer not been fully occupied with his service among Algonquin Christians in their hour of extremity, finally leading them to Schoenbrunn and the Tuscarawas Valley. Then came the rumblings of stormy years ushering in the struggle of colonies for Independence, efforts to secure the neutrality of the great Indian Confederacy by Kirkland and Deane being nullified by their hate of the French allies of the Americans and by their own insatiable love of plunder, fed by the suggestions of the British Col. John Butler. The terrible massacre of the settlers in the Wyoming Valley by Senecas and British rangers those awful days early in July, 1778, first called forth a cry of horror, but then drew down the stern vengeance of the outraged Americans. Sullivan received his commission from Gen. Washington early in the following year to chastise the savages, and made his way up from the Valley

of the Susquehanna, whilst another punitive expedition from New England chose the route along the Mohawk. Onondaga was blotted out. The Cayugas were scattered and their town destroyed. The Iroquois confederacy was crushed. Subsequently surrender was made to Putnam and to other commissioners of the United States, of all claims of sovereignty over territories the confederacy had formerly been able to dominate. The significance of the Iroquois vanished. In the early decades of the following nineteenth century they so completely disappeared as to be hardly more than a name. Today they serve only as an illustration of the grim truth of history, that a people failing to recognize its day of opportunity and to promptly grasp and make use of it, is hopelessly left behind in the onward progress of the race, and that a people refusing to curb and put away its vices finds that these very vices become the instrument of its chastisement.

This is terrible; but it is a law of life.

The Physicians of Early Bethlehem

By Robert Rau

(A paper communicated at the annual meeting of the Moravian Historical Society, September, 1891.)

Among the Moravian immigrants who assisted in the organization of Bethlehem in June, 1842, was Dr. Adolph Meyer, by profession a surgeon from Halberstadt, Saxony, who had learned the healing art from his father, and had united with the Brethren's Church at Herrnhut in 1738. He came to this county with the first "Sea Congregation." His wife, Mary Dorothea, followed in the fall of the same year, but died on the voyage and was buried at sea, September 10th. He was Bethlehem's first physician and rendered efficient service to the afflicted here and in the surrounding country, during the year of his residence after which he was transferred to Nazareth.

In 1746 he took charge of the Brethren's School at Frederictown, Montgomery County, Penna. He there resumed and continued his practice until 1776, when he made his home at Lititz, Penna., where he departed in 1787.

On November 26, 1743, there cast anchor in the bay of New York, after a transatlantic voyage of 54 days, the ship, "The Little Strength," Capt. Garrison, with a motley and forsooth weary crew, representing as is distinctly sung in a pentastich by Spangenberg upon his embarkation from Cowes, England, 14 nationalities.

Du hast so sanft and sacht
Von unser kleinen Macht
Vierzehn Nationen
In dieser Arch gebracht
Die so beysammen wohnen.

It was what the church of those days delighted to call the second "Sea Congregation," a band of servants of the Lord who forsook their native land and braved the dangers of the deep in quest of a new field of labor in America, maintaining on board ship a social and religious organization and employing the time in instruction and preparation preliminary to the work in which they were to engage in the new country.

Among the passengers, who with the crew numbered 130, were John Frederic Otto and his wife, Mary (m. n. Weber), late from Saxe Meiningen. He had been chosen to serve as physician and medical practitioner in the infant settlement, Bethlehem, and was soon established in one of the rooms of the turreted buildings, the centre of the old stone row on Church Street, where his collection of drugs and medicines, moreover, became the nucleus of the apothecary store of later years.

His brother, John Matthew Otto, born in Saxe Meiningen (November 9, 1714), had in the meantime united with the Moravians at Herrnhaag, and having received a special training in surgery, was sent to Bethlehem in 1750 and was for ten years practitioner here, as assistant to his brother. The latter was removed to Lititz in 1760. The services of the brothers Otto were in frequent demand not only in Bethlehem and the immediate vicinity, but their professional visits extended beyond the Blue Mountains, to the north; to Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning (now the site of Weissport and Lehighton) in the northwest; to the Jerseys in the East, and to Lancaster in the southwest.

Matthew Otto had charge of the apothecary store as well, and in 1752, a drug store and dwelling was built for him on the site of the present pharmacy of Simon Rau & Co., and occupied by him in July of the same year. From 1760 until his death in August, 1786, he was the only physician in Bethlehem and acquired well deserved renown as a skillful operator.

Upon the death of Matthew Otto, Dr. C. F. Kampmann came to Bethlehem and practiced medicine until 1790, in January of which year Dr. J. Eberhard Freytag arrived, took charge of the apothecary store and succeeded Dr. Kampmann as physician, the latter removing to Hope, New Jersey.

Dr. Freytag was born April 20, 1764, in Halberstadt, Germany, of Lutheran parents. He was apprenticed in due course of time to Dr. Swertner, of Barby, where he united with the Moravians. With Swertner he removed in 1785 to Gnadenfrei, Silesia, and in 1786, entered the medical department of the University of Halle, completing his course of studies in 1789. At the Synod of the Brethren's Church held in Herrnhut in this

year he was selected to serve as physician and apothecary of Bethlehem, and joined an emigrant party of Brethren, among whom were Jacob Luch, Benjamin Vierling and Nicholas Heber, setting sail in the frigate "Grace," from Amsterdam, November, 1789. In July of the same year of his arrival in Bethlehem he married Catharine Jacobson. She was born on Staten Island, 1767, and died April 12, 1795, leaving one son, Daniel Freytag. His second wife was Christina Oliver, who had been a teacher in the Young Ladies' Seminary here since her arrival from England, October, 1791. She died in 1818, survived by two daughters, Mary Elizabeth (married Benjamin Eggert) and Anna Cecelia (married to Charles C. Tombler). In 1819 he married Salome Fetter. He departed March 14, 1846.

In November, 1795, Dr. John Frederic Rudolphi arrived at Bethlehem in company with other young men, Gottlieb Paulus, Godfrey Pietsch, Andrew Benade and David Moritz Michael. He was duly qualified to do service as surgeon, as was attested by a certificate from the "Sanitaets Collegium of Dresden." His office was located in Dr. Freytag's house until 1797, when he purchased the house of the late Immanuel Nitschmann, to the present generation best known as the house of the late Frederic R. Borhek. On July 17, 1796, he married Sophia Magdalena, a daughter of the deceased Dr. Matthew Otto. He removed to Lititz, Pa., in 1815, where he deceased. The following were the children of Dr. Rudolphi: Sophia Frederica (married to Henry Fahs), Charlotte Amelia (married to Samuel Brunner), Charles A., Caroline, Marie E., Henrietta A., Lydia and John F. by his second wife.

Dr. Freytag was again the only resident to practice the healing art until 1821, when Dr. Abraham Stout, late of Springtown, Bucks County, obtained permission of the "Aufseher Collegium" to open an office in Bethlehem. In March of this year he moved into the house lately built by Frederic Fuehrer, on Market Street, it being the house enlarged and occupied during the decade of 1850 by Dr. Frederic Martin. In 1822 Dr. Stout had his office in the house erected by Gottlieb Paulus (later the "Bee Hive Store") and in the following year he lived in the dwelling vacated by Dr. Rudolphi in 1815. In 1843 he removed to Easton, where he practiced about five years, then

returned to Bethlehem and dwelt in the house now occupied by the store of Samuel Smoyer, and finally removed to the present residence of Dr. Abram Stout, his nephew, where he departed in March, 1857.

Among others who, as young men, read medicine under the tuition of this eminently successful physician and surgeon and who in course of time were established in Bethlehem, were Frederic A. Fickhardt, Abraham L. Huebener and Abram Stout, a nephew of the veteran practitioner. Dr. Huebener was a son of Abraham Huebener, who for many years conducted the pottery in Bethlehem. After completing his studies in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, he established his office in the house now occupied by William B. Myers, on Market Street, where he remained until 1854, when he moved to a farm in Long Valley, Monroe County, Penna. He returned to Bethlehem in 1857 and resumed practice, filling also the part of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Sciences in the Young Ladies' Seminary. He was a successful teacher in these branches and acquired moreover an extensive reputation as a botanist. He departed in Bethlehem, October 30, 1870.

Dr. F. A. Fickhardt took the office practice of Dr. Stout in 1843, occupying the house on South Main Street vacated by the latter upon his removal to Easton.

Dr. William Wilson, late of Bath, Penna., opened an office in the same building during the following year; where he practiced for several years until he purchased the property at the corner of Goundie alley, now the home of Dr. J. H. Roebuck.

Dr. Fickhardt removed to Philadelphia about 1849, where he occupied the chair of Professor of Obstetrics in the Philadelphia College of Medicine for several years. He returned to Bethlehem in 1853, where he again conducted an extensive practice until his decease at a ripe old age in March, 1890. His scholarly attainments and his kindly manners won for him the esteem and respect of all who came in contact with him.

Dr. Abraham Stout established himself in Bethlehem in 1857, occupying the home of his late uncle and preceptor at the corner of Market and New Streets. But such has been the growth of modern Bethlehem and its vicinage, that not only

he, the youngest of his uncle's students, but a full two score of medical practitioners besides, find ample employment for their knowledge and skill in treatment of the bodily ailments of its population.

Benjamin Wilhelm, born at Koenigsfeld, Germany, in 1816, a graduate of the University of Tuebingen, in 1843, came to Bethlehem in 1846 and opened an office in the house on Main Street, now the dwelling of Dr. J. H. Roebuck. He gained an extensive practice, being a dexterous surgeon and eminently gifted with the faculty of prompt diagnosis. He next occupied the dwelling and office vacated by Dr. A. L. Huebener, on Market Street. He served for several years as army surgeon during the War of the Rebellion, having promptly received this appointment, the direct result of evidence of his superior skill and experience in matters medical and surgical. He had enlisted as a private at the Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Cavalry, under Col. Spear. He died at Bethlehem in 1870.

This sketch would be incomplete without mention of a Sanitary Institution reared nearly a half a century ago, where more than a few invalids who possessed the requisite patience to submit to the exactions that a hydropathic treatment of baths, warm, tepid and cold—shower, plunge and foot—demands, obtained relief or found permanent cure.

Francis Henry Oppelt was born in Herrnhut, Saxony, in 1804, had placed his faith in the Hahnemanian theory of therapeutics and potencies, but had acquired a stronger belief in the curative power of water as applied in hydropathic practice. He came to Bethlehem in 1843 and, gifted with a full moiety of persuasive eloquence, he found sympathizers in the community sufficiently numerous and influential to warrant the action taken by the Aufseher Collegium, in July of the same year, granting him the use of land, free of rent for five years, within the bounds of the Hoffert farm, for the establishment of a Water Cure.

Here then in a romantic nook enclosed by the Ostrum and Weygandt spurs of the Lehigh Hills, did he erect a spacious manse, fitted and equipped with the paraphernalia requisite to a well-appointed Hydropathitc Institute, with rooms for the accommodation of a goodly number of guests, be they health, rest or pleasure seeking.

Right lavishly, too, did kind Dame Nature supply the remedial agent which comprises the limited list of the Hydropathic Pharmacopeia from a copious spring of pure soft water, which poured a sparkling perennial stream from the hillside at the rear of the building. For over a quarter of a century did Oppelt here practice his profession, and besides being able to recount with satisfaction many cases of chronic diseases which he had successfully treated, he refers with pardonable pride to an array of guests, people of note, who assisted in building up the reputation of his sanitarium by their patronage; among them Gen. Schimmelpfennig, Carl Schurtz and Franz Siegel.

Aspiring projects and unwise attempts at enlarging the Water Cure entailing unexpectedly great expenses, resulted in 1871, in the doctor's financial ruin and the ultimate closing up and abandonment of the Institute. One of the newer buildings of St. Luke's Hospital now covers its site and Dr. Oppelt, an aged, homeless sojourner in our midst, himself alone remains as the sole reminder of the Bethlehem Hydropathic Institute.

My dear Mr. Rau: In connection with the title of your "vesper" papers on "Early Doctors and Drug Stores," I desire to draw to your attention an operation for cataract in the year 1809 here in Bethlehem.

The patient was old Peter Fetter, my great-great-grandfather, and the operation was successful, although a double one. By comparison of dates, I assume that old Dr. Freytag was the surgeon.

This is recorded in the Church Diary, August (6th), 1823, when old Peter died. The record further says "through God's help his vision was restored, so that even in his old age he could attend the services uninterruptedly, which filled him with fervent thanks to the Lord."

Peter's daughter, Salome, was the third wife of Dr. Freytag.

Yours sincerely,

Elizabeth L. Myers.

In a note on Mrs. Myers' letter, Dr. A. G. Rau thinks it is more likely that Dr. Rudolphi was the surgeon who performed the cataract operation.

The First Apothecary in Bethlehem

By Robert Rau

(Paper written in 1891.)

The history of the first pharmacy in Bethlehem, is concurrent with that of the physicians whose stock of drugs and medicinal preparations together with the room in the house of the little steeple on Church Street in which they were stored during the first decade of the town's existence, was termed the "Die Apotheke" and was in charge of Dr. Frederic Otto, and after 1750, of his brother, Dr. J. Matthew Otto. A dwelling and drug store, one storied stone, and a frame laboratory built for the apothecary was occupied by him in July, 1752; a second story of frame filled with brick was added in 1764. His duties as physician and surgeon frequently called him away from his place of business and this necessitated the service of a resident apothecary, which post Timothy Horsfield, Jr., filled very acceptably for 28 years, from 1761 until his death, April 11, 1789.

That the stock in trade of the apothecary of those days consisted much more largely of simples than the fashions of modern medical practice demands, may be inferred from the fact that the dispenser of drugs had under his care a quite extensive botanic garden in the rear of the Single Brethren's house, where he cultivated medicinal exotics; an evident proof of this is the occasional discovery of a few of the more hardy plants which have survived to this day and linger in some of the se-

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NOTE—Timothy Horsfield, Jr., the oldest of eight children of Timothy and Mary (Doughty) Horsfield, was born on Long Island, May 30, 1732; he was sent to school at Bethlehem in 1745, whither also his parents removed in 1749. In 1748 he was placed in the care of Dr. J. Frederic Otto to learn the drug business, where he remained for five years, after which he served several years as teacher of a class of boys in the single Brethren's house. He re-entered the drug store in 1761. In 1766 he married Juliana Parsons; he was survived by two sons, William, born in 1770, and Thomas, born in 1773. William married Rebecca Weiss, and both he and his consort died in 1845. His daughter was married to Copeland Boyd, and died in Bethlehem in 1840. Thomas went to the East Indies and there married a native woman. He sent his children to England to be educated, whither he also followed, and where he died in 1859. Joseph, the youngest of the children of Timothy Horsfield, Jr., was born in Bethlehem in 1750 and married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel and Sarah Benezet, of Philadelphia, in 1783. His children were Sarah, born 1785, died in 1867, for many years a resident of the Sisters House, familiarly known as "Aunt Sallie" and beloved by all who met her. Eliza, born 1782 was married to Jacob Wolle, and Maria, born 1794, was the wife of John Jacob Kummer.

questered nooks in these grounds. He had ample opportunity moreover, to apply his skill as a compounder of medicines and manufacturer of chemicals, in those days of tedious travel and slow transportation, days long antedating the period of the large laboratories and extensive manufacturies which advanced chemistry and elegant pharmacy have called into existence.

Dr. J. Eberhard Freytag took charge of the drug store immediately upon his arrival in Bethlehem, January, 1790, and purchased the stock and fixtures from the Congregation in 1796, thenceforward carrying on the business on his own account for 43 years, when he sold it to Simon Rau, who had been under his tuition since 1830. The venerable pile, dwelling, store and laboratory which had been erected in 1752 was razed by Simon Rau in 1862-3 and replaced by the more commodious dwelling and store buildings now occupying the same site. He associated with him in the drug business, his brother, David Rau, in 1866, who departed this life in January, 1879; since then this pharmacy has been conducted by Eugene A. Rau and Robert Rau, under the firm name of Simon Rau & Co.

A second drug store was established in 1844 by John Dixon, late of Easton, in the building 130 South Main Street, then occupied by Dr. Abraham Stout. It was successively in the hands of Samuel Shimer and Dr. Richard E. Hillman, in 1848; Mathew M. Selfridge, in 1860; M. M. Selfridge and James T. Borhek, Jr., 1870; Unangst and Kressler, 1873, and Nickum and Kelchner, in 1892. It now occupies the site of the old time saddlery where Christian Lange and, before him, his father and grandfather, plied their trade. The number of pharmacies in the three boroughs has by this year of grace been augmented to seventeen, all of which, with the exception of the two mentioned have come into existence in the new era of the three Bethlehems, since their incorporations as boroughs.

NOTE—The valetudinarian of the present day who falls into the hands of the medicine man must forsooth, as did the woman of holy writ "suffer many things of many physicians," yet does the pharmacopoeia of this enlightened age offer nectar and ambrosia in comparison to what was included in the Materia Medica of the last century; as witness the following medicaments, minutely described and more or less highly extolled by Daniel Wilhelm Triller in his "Dispensatorium Pharmaceuticum Medimentreum." Francofurti ad maen, 1764: Lumbrici terrestres (rain worms), Bufonis exsiccata (dried toads), Cranium humaneum (human skull, a specific for epilepsy) and Album Graecum (stercus caninum album)!

The Moravian Sister's House at Nazareth, Pennsylvania

Notes Compiled by Henry A. Jacobson for the

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

It was in the year 1784 that the first preparations for the erection of the house for the Single Sisters were made.

In January and the ensuing months, the stones for the structure were brought to the site, so that everything was in readiness for the commencement of building operations by the beginning of spring.

The winter had been a very severe one; there was an unusual amount of snow and the cold was intense.

The Small-pox had attacked 32 of the children, and two of the Single Sisters. All were now restored to health, and on April 12th, (Easter Monday) assembled with the children of this and the surrounding congregations for a thanksgiving service.

The next morning, the Single Brethren and boys commenced to dig the foundation of the Sister's House, and on the Monday following, (April 19th), the corner-stone was laid in the presence of the members of this congregation and of a large number of visitors from Bethlehem.

Among the latter were the Single Sisters Susel Von Gersdorf, Elizabeth Lewis, Anna von Marschall, Esther Wapler and Christina Boeckel.

The exercises began with a meeting in Nazareth Hall, in which the Congregation took part. After the Elders' Conference had entered Brother Zeisberger led the singing of the verse "Hebe auf Durchgegrabene Haende." He then made an address relative to the exercises in which they were about to engage, read the texts of the day, and communicated the contents of the documents to be deposited in the corner-stone.

After the singing of several verses, the Elders' Conference accompanied by the trombonists playing upon their instruments, conducted the Single Sisters to the site of the building, the congregation following.

Arrived at the place, the verses, "Der Grund wo wir uns gruenden, Ist Christus und sein Blut," and "Wir sinken auf den Fels des Heils," were sung, during which the box containing the articles to be placed in the corner-stone was delivered by Sister Lewis (who had carried it in the procession) to Sister Leinbach, who laid it in the stone. (The stone is situated on the Eastern side of the building). Thereupon Brother Zeisberger and the Sisters standing by,—Lizetta Leinbach, Susel von Gersdorf and Elizabeth Lewis—gave the customary strokes with the hammer upon the stone: Finally, Brother Zeisberger stood upon the stone and offered an earnest prayer to the Lord, beseeching Him to bless the building, and its future inmates, and protect the laborers and builders from accident. Then Brother Schenck, as Master mason commenced his work, and the Elders' Conference conducted the Single Sisters back to the Hall, amid the sound of the trombones and other instruments; there they had a Love-Feast.

The work upon the foundation was actually commenced two days later, (April 21st). On May 25th the beams and joists for the first loor were put in place; those for the second floor were laid June 17th, those for the third floor on July 6th and on July the 17th the last scaffolding for the masons was erected. On July 29th and 30th, the roof and the supports therefor were put in position; the male members of the congregation assisted; the daily evening service was omitted on the first evening, every body being too tired to take part. On the 30th a Thanksgiving meeting was held in remembrance of the fact that no accidents had occurred during the prosecution of the work.

On November 9th, Sister Susel von Gersdorf moved from the Single Sisters house at Bethlehem, Pa., to assume the duties of Superintendent (Helferin) of the "Single Sisters' Choir" at Nazareth, Pa.

On December 13th the Sisters moved from the "Gemein Haus," where they had hitherto resided, into their new home. There were present from Bethlehem twenty-two Single Sisters, the majority of the Elders' Conference and the church musicians.

At two o'clock, amid the playing of the trombones, the Single Sisters, twenty-four in number, entered the building, followed by the Elders' Conference and the members of the Nazareth and

Schoeneck Moravian congregations. Having reached the prayer-hall all partook of a "Love-Feast." Then Brother Watteville made a short address and read the beautiful dedication hymn, which Bishop Ettwein (who was present and probably composed it) had handed to him.

Thereupon the Dedication song was sung by the congregation accompanied by instruments played by the Single Brethren of Bethlehem and Nazareth. The singing of the Psalm was preceded by an earnest and edifying prayer of thanksgiving by Bishop De Watteville.

At four o'clock a homily upon the parable of the "Five wise and five foolish virgins" was delivered to the Single Sisters and at seven o'clock in the evening they partook of the Holy Communion under the leadership of Bishop De Watteville and thus the place of rest was dedicated to the Lord.

The public services of December 31st, (New Year's Eve, 1800) and January 1st, 1801, were of a very impressive character, and the Nazareth Hall Chapel was elaborately decorated in order fittingly to signalize the commencement of the Nineteenth Century. On both these days after the evening meetings, the Nazareth Hall and the Sister's House, (now known as "The Castle") were illuminated by 800 lights, a double trombone choir playing meanwhile on the roof (Altan) of the Hall.

In July 1826 the building was thoroughly repaired in the roof and in the interior and painted throughout without any mishaps.

On May 4th, 1830, was the Centennial celebration of the Single Sisters' Choir. At 4 A.M. they were awakened with music; at 7 o'clock the trombones announced the festival; at 8 o'clock was the "Morgensegen;" at 10 o'clock the account of the first covenanting of the Single Sisters, one hunded years before was read. At two o'clock was Love-Feast for the entire Congregation and in the evening at seven a "Gemein-stunde."

In later years portions of the building have occasionally been used for purposes somewhat foreign to the intentions of its founders. Thus, on Jan. 9th, 1842, a Sunday School for the girls was organized by Brother Samuel Reinke, and was kept in the Prayer Hall; the first teachers were the Sisters Lisetta Lukenbach, Eliza-

beth Schmick, Matilda Kern and Eliza Staudt; it continued to be kept here till 1847, after which time it was held in the Church, Brother Boehler being Superintendent.

The public examinations of the scholars belonging to the Girls School, (Moravian Parochial) were also held here, frequently closing with a lovefeast. The Girls School was kept in this building, principally in the first story, for a long period, at least from the beginning of the Century until the year 1850.

In the Summer of 1854, the class of Theological students who had up to that time resided in the third story of the Hall, moved into the Sister's House, more room being required in the Hall for school purposes. They resided in the South East and South West rooms on the first story, a door being broken through the Southern wall for their accommodation; their Professor Rev'd Edward Rondthaler, resided in the second story. The members of the Class at that time were, Henry T. Bachman, Albert L. Oerter, Samuel Huebner and Owen Rice, Jr. This arrangement terminated in 1855 when the students were transferred to Philadelphia.

In the Spring of 1874, the Sisters House was purchased by the Board of Trustees of Nazareth Hall, with the intention of using it for school purposes. In 1875 it was thoroughly renovated. Extensive alterations were made in the interior and a variety of improvements introduced which were needed to adapt it to its new uses, but which in no way marred its stately proportions.

Thus has the Moravian Sister's House at Nazareth, Pa., consecrated in 1784, with earnest prayers and amid the sounds of Sacred music and holy song, to the service of the Lord, been blessed by Him. Here has His Holy Spirit found a home and been effectual to the upbuilding and sanctifying of many souls who were precious in His sight, and who now are assembled with the Hosts of Heaven in rendering unceasing praises to their Saviour and Redeemer.

NOTE:—In copying this story of the consecration of the Moravian Sister's House at Nazareth, Pa., as compiled by Rev. Henry Jacobson, we wish to call attention to the fact that he made the statement "There were twenty-four (24) sisters entered the House." The original record in the possession of the Moravian Historical Society states the number to have been thirty-four (34) "Covenant" Sisters and five (5) confirmed girls in training for admission to the Choir. We are happy to say, we have a complete list of the names of these Sisters and are planning to follow up the history of their lives.—Clara A. Beck.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 27, 1923

The meeting was called to order by the President at 11:15 A.M. in the Museum room, Whitefield House, twenty-two members being present. The chairman noted the presence of Miss Adelaide Fries, of Winston-Salem, N. C., and the Misses Laura and Emily Bell, of Philadelphia, Mr. F. H. Bixler, Easton, Pa., and the Rev. Preston A. Laury, president of the Northampton Co. Historical Society were also introduced. The secretary read the annual report of the treasurer, which was accepted and placed on file. A motion to place $700.00 to the credit of the Publication account was carried. The secretary's report was then communicated and accepted together with a vote of appreciation for his work. He reported verbally on the condition of the "Old Graveyard," and also that he had not been able to get an approximate idea of the cost of the repairs needed at Shekomeko, N. Y., and Wechquadnach, Conn.

It was decided to repair the foundation of the monument on the "Old Graveyard" at once, and the matter of the repairs at Shekomeko and Wechquadnach was placed in the hands of the Executive Committee, with instructions to proceed as soon as possible. The librarian's report was then read and, having been accepted, was made part of the proceedings.

The price of tickets for the vesper was then discussed, and the matter was referred to the Executive Committee for action.

Mr. Albert Brodhead donated $5.00 to procure a directory of places of historical interest, to be placed in the Hotel Bethlehem. Mr. W. H. Milchsack then notified the society that he no longer had place for the storage of the old Nazareth fire engine, and the placing of the old relic was given into the hands of the Executive Committee with instructions to take immediate action on the problem. Mr. J. J. Clewell was accorded a vote of thanks

for his gift of a copy of an unpublished manuscript of the late Matthew Henry.

A motion made by the secretary, that the resolution of the Society, passed on July 11, 1876, be rescinded, and that hereafter all monies received in the box at the door be applied to the preservation and display of documents, curios, etc., was carried. The Executive Committee was also instructed to formulate rules to govern the readmission of members who have allowed membership to lapse.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year, viz.:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, D.D.,
The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.
Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers,
Prof. A. R. Beck,
A. S. Schropp,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D,.
E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Wm. H. Milchsack.

Secretary-Librarian, The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Treasurer, Warren E. Siegfried.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
H. J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
R. O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
W. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, A.M.,
The Rev. G. F. Bahnson,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern.

Graveyard Committee, W. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

An honorarium of $100.00 was voted to the secretary-librarian for his services, and $25.00 to the treasurer. The treasurer was authorized to pay all Vesper expenses.

The following were nominated to membership in the society, and, subsequently, elected by the Executive Committee, viz: The Rev. and Mrs. G. H. Lopp, Prof. Herbert H. Beck, Mrs. Fred D. Kern, Wilfred E. Vogler, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Schlegel, Mrs. Roy D. Hassler, Fred T. Beckel and Henry A. Groman, active members. The Rev. P. A. Laury, Geo. W. Koehler and T. R. Shafer, associate members. Messrs. Floyd S. Bixler, Geo. B. Hillman and W. M. Kelsey had been elected during the year at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

Adjournment.

VESPER MEETING

At 1:15 p.m. about two hundred guests and members gathered about the tables for the Vesper luncheon. At 2:00 o'clock the chairman read the roll of the members who had entered into rest during the past year, viz:—Mrs. Anna Pownall, Mrs. E. A. Rau, Mrs. Chas. Dodson, G. A. Schneebeli, Chas. H. Bytel, W. S. Cortright and A. B. Fichter. The assemby then rose and sang the customary memorial stanza.

A paper on "The Life and Work of Anna Nitschmann" was then read by Miss Adelaide Fries of Winston-Salem, N. C. The Rev. Dr. Laury also addressed the meeting at the request of the chairman. The secretary communicated some interesting extracts from both his report and that of the treasurer, after which the meeting adjourned.

W. H. VOGLER, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 25, 1924

The society met at 11:15 a.m., the Rev. W. N. Schwarze presiding. Twenty-two members were present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The secretary read the report of the treasurer who was absent. This report showed a balance on hand, after paying the expense of printing and distributing "Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes," and other incidental expenses, of $430.00. This report was accepted and placed on file. The secretary then read his own report and it was accepted and made a part of the proceedings of the meeting.

Mr. F. H. Martin reported on the condition of the monuments at Shekomeko, N. Y., and Wechquadnach, Conn., he having recently visited these sites. The secretary was authorized to correspond with the owner of the farm on which the Shekomeko monument stands concerning the needed work, and the Graveyard Committee was authorized to proceed with the work, being assured of the advice and co-operation of the Executive Committee as needed. A letter was read from Mr. A. H. Stevens informing the society of the condition of the monument at Wyalusing, Pa.

The following were nominated to membership in the society, and, subsequently, elected by the Executive Committee, viz: Mr. and Mrs. Herman O. Hark, the Rev. H. A. Kuehl, Mrs. E. C. Jones, and Miss Catharine Krause. The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz in behalf of unnamed friends nominated the Rev. W. N. Schwarze as a life member, and deposited the requisite fee with the secretary.

The librarian's report was read and since it carried the information that several large cases for the display and preservation of our curios, etc., might be secured from Nazareth Hall, the Executive Committee was authorized to buy them at a reasonable price.

The Rev. J. E. Weinland, of Dover, Ohio, representing the Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society, and who is now engaged in the restoration of the old Indian village of Schoenbrunn, site of the first church and the first school-house west of the Allegheny Mountains, was introduced. He told us that the site was destined to become an Ohio State Memorial Park, and in behalf of the Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society, together with the encouragement of the Executive Committee of our own society, he requested that the old Zeisberger (Schoenbrunn) bell, be transferred to the restored Schoenbrunn. The Executive Committee was authorized to transfer the Zeisberger bell and its ownership to the Ohio State Historical and Archaeological Society as soon as that society is ready to receive it.

An honorarium of $100.00 was voted to the secretary-librarian and $50.00 were granted to the treasurer for his work during the past year. It was also agreed that the same amounts be paid next year. The secretary-librarian was also given a special vote of thanks for his work. A vote of thanks was given to the donors of books, curios, etc. The election of officers for the ensuing year followed. The Rev. J. E. Weinland was nominated as an additional vice-president. No other nominations were made, and, on motion, the Rev. J. S. Romig was asked to cast a ballot favorable to the election of all the former officers. This done, the election resulted as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.
The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.,
Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers,
Prof. A. R. Beck,
A. S. Schropp,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,
The Rev. J. E. Weinland.

Secretary-Librarian, The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Treasurer, Warren E. Siegfried.

Publication Committee, the Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
R. O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
W. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, M.A.,
The Rev. G. F. Bahnson,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

The treasurer was authorized to pay all bills incurred for the Vesper. Adjournment.

VESPER MEETING

After the customary collation, the president called the meeting to order, and read the list of the members who had departed this life during the past year,—Mrs. Marietta Borhek Myers, John Leibert, Miss Margaret Knapp, Samuel Odenwelder, Albin Voigt, Thomas Atherton, Otto Hesse, Mrs. S. J. Blum, and Mrs. E. Grant Tice. The assemblage rose to sing the memorial hymn. Formal presentation of the Zeisberger bell was made by the president to the Rev. J. E. Weinland, representing the Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society, and the presentation address was gracefully acknowledged by him.

The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., read a carefully prepared paper on the "Recognition of the Moravian Church as an Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church by Act of the Parliament of Great Britain in 1749." This paper was ordered placed on the list of papers on hand for publication. Dr. Edw. Hart, Prof. of Chem-

istry in Lafayette College, who is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his connection with that institution was greeted with a hymn of blessing, and he graciously responded with a few appreciative remarks. "The Romance of the Whitefield House" was the title of a paper read by the secretary. The Rev. John S. Romig, D.D., presented the greetings of the Schwenkfelder Annual Meeting, held on August 4th.

Adjournment.

W. H. VOGLER, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 24, 1925

Pres. W. N. Schwarze called the meeting to order at 11:15 a.m. in the museum room at the Whitefield House. Sixteen members and visitors were present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The secretary then read the report of the treasurer, which was accepted and placed on file. Abstract of the treasurer's report:

Cash on hand, Sept., 1924	$ 430 32
Receipts for the year	697 45
	$1127 77
Expenses	491 07
Balance	$ 636 70
Excess Investments	$1223 63
Excess Resources	903 18
Investments	6680 63
Resources	7136 70

The secretary read a letter from Mr. Oakley Thorne with reference to the Shekomeko monument, and one from Mr. Laughlin anent the monument at Wechquadnach (Indian Pond), Conn. Mr. W. E. Henry stated that a change in the highway had left the latter monument quite out of sight from the road.

The secretary's report was then read, adopted, and placed on file. The librarian's report was also read and adopted. Growing interest in the enlarged museum prompted Mr. Albert Brodhead to propose a suitable sign for the Moravian Historical Society Museum and Library, to be placed on the lawn of the Whitefield House, and he made a donation of $10.00 toward the project. The suggestion and offer were both accepted with a vote of thanks.

The placing of the sign was referred to the Executive Committee. The binding of certain pamphets, books, magazines, etc., was likewise referred to the Executive Committee for action. The following list of names was then presented for membership in the society:

Life, W. H. Winterrowd and Oakley Thorne.

Active, C. W. Jarrett, Miss Marguerite Eberman, Mrs. Wm. P. Gano, Frank Fegley, Wm. Minnich, Mrs. G. T. Martin, Mrs. James F. Findlay, Stuart D. Knecht, Herbert K. Martin, The Rev. Robert I. Giering, The Rev. J. Kenneth Pfohl, The Rev. Edw. J. Heath, The Rev. Howard Rondthaler, The Rev. Edm. Schwarze, Louis A. Huebener and Robert Siegfried.

Associate, Mrs. Wm. D. Fisher.

Subsequently, these persons were elected as members by the Executive Committee.

A suggestion on the part of Mrs. E. L. Myers, that in order to regain a historic setting for the Vesper, the possibility of holding it in the dining-room of Nazareth Hall was considered, and Mrs. Myers was appointed a committee of one to confer with the principal about the matter. A motion to procure a closet for the dishes of the Moravian Historical Society was carried.

The election of officers followed. Archibald Johnston was nominated as a vice-president in the place of Abraham S. Schropp, deceased. All the other former officers were renominated, and the Rev. F. E. Lennox was instructed to cast a ballot favorable to their election, which was done, and the following were declared elected for the ensuing year:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.,
The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.,
Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers,
Prof. A. R. Beck,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,

The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland,
Archibald Johnston.

Secretary-Librarian, The Rev. W. H. Vogler.

Treasurer, Warren E. Siegfried,

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
R. O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, A.M.,
The Rev. G. F. Bahnson,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

The usual honorarium was ordered paid to the secretary, treasurer and librarian, respectively. A motion that the treasurer pay all Vesper expenses was carried.

Adjournment.

VESPER MEETING

The Vesper collation was partaken of by a large number of members and guests, despite the inclemency of the weather. Following the usual order, the president rose about 2.00 pm., and communicated the names of those members who had passed to their eternal rest during the past year: Mrs. H. P. Hamman, Mrs. Frank Stout, Abraham S. Schropp, Prof. Mansfield Merriman, F. H. Ellis, Prof. Edward Denham, the Rev. Clarence E. Romig, the Rev. D. Hayes Keech, Samuel D. Luckenbach, Herman O. Hark, Louis Eysenbach, Mrs. Emma Mackie, Mrs. Charles Clewell and

Mrs. Charles Messinger. The assembly rose and sang the usual memorial hymn.

The chairman then spoke of the connection of the Moravian Church with the Convention for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. He then introduced the Rev. John Baer Stoudt, D.D., of Allentown, who spoke about the settlement of the Walloons on Manhattan Island in 1624. Prof. Paul E. Beck read a paper on David Tanneberger, the Moravian organ-builder of the latter part of the eighteenth cenury. The secretary was instructed to convey the greetings of the society to the aged father of Prof. Beck, now in the ninety-third year of his life, who had furnished some of the data for the foregoing paper.

The secretary read "The True Story of the Campaign against Sandusky." The following persons were nominated for membership: Miss Jennie Bartleman, Mrs. Horace Luckenbach, Mrs. Walter S. Bourlier, Miss Harriet T. Root. Archibald Johnston having been notified of his election, at the morning session, as one of the vice-presdients, responded with a short speech in humorous vein.

A vote of thanks was tendered to all who in any wise had contributed to the success and enjoyment of the meeting.

Adjournment.

W. H. VOGLER, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 23, 1926

The meeting was called to order at 11:15 a.m., by the Rev. Paul de Schweinitz in the museum room of the Whitefield House. The president appeared during the session. Eighteen members were present, and four visitors were noted. Minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The treasurer read his annual report which was accepted and placed on file.

Abstract of the treasurer's report:

Balance Sept. 1, 1925	$ 636 70
Receipts for the year	636 78
	$1273 48
Disbursements for year	496 73
Balance on hand	$ 776 75

A motion that the Executive Committee be authorized to adjust the amounts usually appropriated to the various funds was carried. Both the secretary's and the librarian's reports were submitted, adopted, and placed on file.

The Graveyard Committee reported verbally concerning a visit to the monument at Gilbert's, Monroe Co., Pa. They found it intact, but stated that the fence needed painting, which was ordered done. The chairman reported verbally for the Publication Committee. The secretary was authorized to further negotiate with Dr. W. B. Cooley to ascertain what success he has had in negotiations with the parties who have bought his property on which stood one of our monuments, and to request him to furnish us with a copy of the rights and privileges enjoyed by our society during his proprietorship. The usual honorarium of $100.00 was ordered paid to the secretary-librarian, and also one of $50.00 to the treasurer.

The president reported that the leader of the trombone choir had found difficulty in securing players, and that it had been found needful to incur greater expenses than heretofore, by from $15.00 to $20.00. The meeting then ordered that each player be paid $2.00 and carfare, and that the leader be paid for his time.

Mrs. E. L. Myers then suggested that since 1927 would be the seventieth anniversary of the founding of our society, a suitable program be arranged to celebrate the occasion, and it was so ordered. The society then requested the president to supply a copy of his address at the rededication of the monument at Shekomeko so that it might be printed as a part of the Special Series of our Transactions.

The following were nominated for membership in the society:

Active Members,—Miss Eleanor Hartmann, the Rev. Paul E. Stocker, Mrs. W. E. Siegfried, Mrs. Stuart D. Knecht, Mrs. Charles Kiefer, Mrs. Earl Strohman, Mrs. Clarence E. Romig, and Mrs. Eugene Trein.

Associate Member,—Asa K. McIlhaney.

Life Members,—Wm. B. Henry, James E. Henry.

Subsequently, these persons were elected as members by the Executive Committee.

The election of officers resulted in the choice of all the members of the former board, no others having been nominated. The board consists of the following:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.
The Rt. Rev. C. L. Moench, D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.,
Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers,
Prof. A. R. Beck,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,
The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland,
Archibald Johnston.

Secretary-Librarian, The Rev. Wm. H. Vogler.

Treasurer, Warren E. Siegfried.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
R. O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, A.M.,
The Rev. Geo. F. Bahnson,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

After the election, the meeting adjourned to meet at 1:15 P.M. in the social rooms of the Moravian Church.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred and seventy members and guests met around the tables for the annual Vesper. When the tables had been cleared, the president announced the names of members who had died during the past year and suggested the singing of a fitting memorial hymn. The list read as follows:—John Laubach, John F. Giering, Mrs. Walter Crawford, Wm. Steinmiller, A. G. Connolly, Mrs. A. M. Lear, Mrs. G. A. Schneebeli, Charles Henry and Edward Henry.

Mr. Henry F. Marx, librarian of the Easton Public Library, then read a most interesting paper on "The Moravians in Northampton County." This paper was given due appreciation in remarks by Prof. Edwin Hart, the Rev. Paul de Schweinitz and Mr. Floyd Bixler.

On request, the Rev. G. F. Bahnson then read a paper pre-

pared by the Rev. W. H. Vogler on "The Old Mulberry Tree." This elicited quite a lot of reminiscences anent the old mulberry trees which stood about Ephrata Place in bygone years. A lot of cocoons, etc., were displayed, these having been recently brought from Japan by a missionary of the Reformed Chruch,—Miss Florence Buss. A total membership of four hundred and fifteen was reported by the secretary. A hymn was sung and the president declared the sixty-ninth annual meeting of the society adjourned.

W. H. VOGLER, Secretary.

Note.—A blue-print of the original plot of "New" Nazareth having been made, framed and hung in the Museum, contains the following information:

"New Nazareth"

The Brethren Gregor and Lorenz of the U. E. C., visiting the American congregations, together with the Brethren Hans Christian de Schweinitz and Dettmers came to the Barony, and were entertained at the manor house, i. e., Nazareth Hall. While here they laid out the present site of the borough of Nazareth, as we are told, for a so-called "Orts-gemeine," a project which is said to have been arranged some years before. The map, which has been copied by Mr. Clyde Moser, was put together by Administrator Van Vleck from small sketches of the original plans preserved in detached form. (Miss Clara A. Beck.)

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 22, 1927

In the absence of the president the meeting was called to order by the Rev. Dr. S. H. Gapp in the museum room at the Whitefield House at 11:15 A.M. The president appeared shortly after the meeting had been opened and took the chair. There were seventeen members present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read, and, after slight amendment, were approved. The treasurer communicated his annual report, of which an abstract follows:

Balance on hand	$ 796 75
Receipts	693 49
	$1490 24
Disbursements	146 72
Balance	$1343 52

all of which was accounted for to the auditing committee, and the report was accepted and filed.

Mr. F. H. Martin, for the Graveyard Committee, reported some vandalism on the old cemetery at Nazareth, and, since the committee was uncertain as to how it might best be prevented, asked for suggestions on the matter. The president spoke of the monument at Lehighton (Old Gnadenhuetten), stating that the inscriptions thereon needed repairs.

Reports of the secretary-librarian were then read. Miss Clara A. Beck, who has been helping both Bro. Vogler, and later Bro. Bahnson, in compiling the reference library, read an informative account of the contents of that part of the library, giving relative values of various books contained therein, and suggesting certain historical works which should be supplied, particularly stressing

a reliable history of Northampton Co. This paper was ordered filed with the minutes of this session.

The following were nominated for membership in the society, and were later elected, unanimously, by the Executive Committee:

Active Members,—Miss Elizabeth Leibert, Judson G. Smull, George D. Turner, the Rev. Byron K. Horne, the Rev. C. A. Meilicke, the Rev. Earl H. Christiansen, Miss Martha K. Wunderling, Wm. P. Gano, and Alvin E. Frantz.

Associate Members,—Mrs. A. G. Kern and Mrs. Laura Mutchler.

Life Member,—Mrs. Anna Anderson was transferred from the active to the life membership list.

The charges for the trombone choir and the secretary's bills for postage, etc., were ordered paid.

The advisability of having new stationery printed was broached by the librarian, and the secretary was authorized to get the needed supplies. A committee consisting of the president and the treasurer having been authorized by the Executive Committee to establish a proper annual honorarium to be given to the secretary, treasurer and librarian, suggested that each receive $50.00 per annum, and a motion to that effect prevailed. The death, during the year, of the secretary-librarian created a vacancy, which was filled by the action of the Executive Committee in the selection of Wm. E. Henry as secretary, and of the Rev. Geo. F. Bahnson as librarian. These selections were confirmed. On motion of Messrs. Bahnson and Henry the entire annual compensation due the secretary-librarian for the past year's work was ordered paid to Mrs. Vogler. The usual honorarium, $50.00, was paid the treasurer.

Election of officers ensued. Miss Clara A. Beck was nominatned as an additional member of the Library Committee. No other nominations having been made, the following named were elected, unanimously, the ballot being cast by an appointed individual:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Secretary, Wm. E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. F. Bahnson.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.
Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.,
Mrs. E. L. Myers,
Prof. A. R. Beck,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Eugene A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,
The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland,
Archibald Johnston,
The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.
Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
A. G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.
Board of Managers, E. A. Rau, Ph. G.,
Albert Brodhead,
R. O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
Wm. E. Henry.
Library Committee, Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, A.M.,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern,
The Rev. Geo. F. Bahnson,
Miss Clara A. Beck, B.A.
Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

The meeting thereupon adjourned to meet in the social rooms of the Moravian Church at 1:15 P.M.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred and sixty-five members and guests sat down to the Vesper tables. After the meal, the president called the meeting to order and read the names of the members who had passed to their eternal reward since the last annual meeting,—

Owen F. Leibert, Miss Clara Henry, Miss Marie Hesse, Mrs. F. E. Luckenbach, Miss Caroline Stadiger, Clarence Wolle, H. A. Groman, A. C. Prince, Herbert K. Martin, Bishop C. L. Moench, and our late secretary-librarian, the Rev. W. H. Vogler. The company rose and sang an appropriate memorial hymn.

Dr. S. H. Gapp then presented the following resolution of respect in memory of our late departed secretary-librarian, the Rev. W. H. Vogler, which resolution was ordered spread upon the minutes of the meeting.

"For the second time in the history of the Moravian Historical Society, its members are called upon to mourn the death of the secretary of the organization. In His wise providence it has pleased the Lord to call unto the rest that remaineth for the people of God, our esteemed and beloved brother, the Rev. Wm. H. Vogler, for many years a member of the society, and during the later years of his life its honored secretary. He was thoroughly alive to the objects of the society and had its welfare deeply in mind at all times. The success of annual meetings, for a number of years, was due largely to his patient and far-seeing preparation. We record our grateful acknowledgment of the value of his services and express the keen sense of loss sustained in his departure, even as we rejoice in the memory of his life worthily spent.

We express to the bereaved family heartfelt sympathy, and commend its members to the guidance of Almighty God, Whose providential leading has been so clearly manifested in the life of our departed brother, which extended over eigthy years.

We order that a copy of this minute be sent to the family of the deceased and that it be made a part of the proceedings of this meeting."

The secretary reported the following as the present membership:

Active	227
Associate	39
Life	121
Exch., etc.	26
Total	413

This being the seventieth anniversary meeting of the society President Schwarze spoke of its organization, life, activities and aims, giving a terse and instructive talk, decidedly informative, especially to the newer members. Bishop Hamilton was then called upon and read a paper on "Facts Leading up to August 13, 1727." In this talk he very ably painted a picture of the remarkable religious experiences and evangelical activities of the men, women and children of that time, and reminded us that these experiences were recalled to our minds in the annual observance of August 13th, as a memorial day in the Moravian Church. Dr. A. G. Rau then followed with an illuminating address on "Outside Lights on Diary Scraps." He vividly depicted the unusual relations, influences, jealousies, etc., between the English, French, Indians, during the pre-revolutionary days.

Prof. Gipson, of Lehigh University, was then introduced and spoke in appreciative strain of the development of the Moravian Historical Society and of the general benefit of historical research.

Adjournment.

WM. E. HENRY, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 27, 1928

President Schwarze called the meeting to order at 11:15 a.m. in the museum room at the Whitefield House. There were eighteen members present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read, amended and adopted. The treasurer's report was submitted, accepted and placed on file. An abstract is herewith given:

Balance fiscal year	$ 96 45
Checking Acct., Interest, etc.	1247 07
	$1343 52
Receipts	2048 96
Total	$3392 48
Disbursements	2770 39
Balance	$ 622 09

This report had been audited and found correct.

The secretary's report was then submitted. The librarian gave an oral report of his activities during the past year, stating that quite a number of books and pamphlets had been arranged, but that due to ill health he felt constrained to resign. The resignation was accepted, and a vote of thanks was given him in appreciation of his past services.

The following persons were then nominated for membership: Prof. Raymond S. Haupert, the Rev. W. S. Nonnemaker, the Hon. Wm. R. Coyle, M.C., Mrs. S. J. Stansfield, Joseph H. Fulmer, Mrs. Joseph H. Fulmer, Charles E. Kiefer, Miss Mary A. Huebener, Robert J. Ziegler and Mrs. Robert J. Ziegler. These persons were subsequently elected to membership by the Executive Committee.

On motion of Miss Clara A. Beck, the sercetary was instructed to write a letter of thanks to Mr. Wilfred Vogler for the tablet furnished in memory of our late secretary-librarian, the Rev. W. H. Vogler. On motion of Dr. Gapp the selection of a librarian was placed in the hands of the Executive Committee.

Election of officers was then taken up. Prof. A. R. Beck, for many years an honored vice-president, having passed away during the past year, his son, Prof. Herbert H. Beck, of Franklin and Marshall College, was nominated in his stead by James S. Fry. There being no other nominations, a motion prevailing that the secretray cast a ballot favorable to the members of the former board, it was so done, and the following were declared elected:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Secretary, Wm. E. Henry.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.,
Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers,
E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,
The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland,
Archibald Johnston,
The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.,
Herbert H. Beck.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, E. A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
Richard O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Miss Clara A. Beck,
Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, A.M.,

Warren E. Siegfried.
Andrew G. Kern,
The Rev. George F. Bahnson.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

The secretary's bills amounting to $8.75 for postage, etc., were ordered paid. The secretary, librarian and treasurer were each given an honorarium of $50.00 for services rendered. The committee appointed by the Executive Committee to inquire into the purchase of a safe suitable for the protection of our manuscripts, etc., reported that they had located one which might be procured for $140.00, and they were instructed to buy it.

Adjournment.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred and sixty persons gathered about the Vesper tables. After the collation, the president called the meeting to order, and read the names of the members who had passed away since the last meeting,—Prof. A. R. Beck, Prof. E. C. Roest, John W. Fries, Mrs. G. T. Martin, Ephraim Loux, Mrs. Warren A. Wilbur, Herman A. Doster, Mrs. Wm. V. Knauss and Mrs. Otilie V. Borhek. The assembly then rose and sang a memorial stanza.

The secretary reported the present list of membership as follows:

Active	238
Associate	42
Life	122
Exchanges, etc.	26
Total	428

A gain of fifteen during the past year.

A paper on "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina" was then read by Miss Adelaide Fries, of Winston-Salem, N. C. The president called on the Hon. H. J. Steele, of Easton, Pa., president of the Northampton Co. Historical Associa-

tion, who gave an interesting talk on the so-called "Penn Heir Case," in which the descendants of Wm. Penn attempted to gain title to the public square at Easton, Pa. After Bishop Hamilton had made some remarks on historical facts noted in Moravian history this year, the meeting adjourned, after the singing of a hymn.

WM. E. HENRY, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 26, 1929

The meeting was held in the museum room of the Whitefield House, at 11:15 A.M., Dr. Schwarze presiding. Nineteen members were present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The treasurer read his report which was accepted and filed. Abstract of the report is herewith given:

Balance September 1, 1928	$ 622 09
Receipts	746 04
	$1368 13
Disbursements	839 23
Balance	$ 528 90

The secretary's report was read and adopted. The Rev. G. M. Shultz, who had been chosen librarian at the February meeting of the Executive Committee, read his report which was accepted, and a vote of thanks was given him. Miss Clara A. Beck, chairman of the library committee, also reported that about eighty-nine papers of historical character, quite a few of which merit publication, were listed and placed in the new safe for protection. She also offered various suggestions and gave some information of general interest to the society.

The following were nominated for membership in the society as

Active Members,—Mrs. W. S. Hermany, Miss Josephine Johnston, Mrs. G. M. Shultz, Mrs. H. B. Marx, Mrs. Edward S. Loux.

Life Members,—Archibald B. Johnston, Mrs. Archibald B. Johnston, George P. Kingsley, Mrs. George P. Kingsley, Albert Edward Jennings.

These persons were subsequently elected to membership by the Executive Committee.

Election of officers followed. Mrs. H. B. Marx was nominated as an additional member of the library committee by Miss Clara A. Beck. A motion that the secretary cast a ballot favorable to the election of all the former members of the board and also for the additional nominee for the library committee was carried unanimously, and the result is herewith tabulated:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.,
Mrs. Elizabeth Lehman Myers,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
Eugene A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,
The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland,
Archibald Johnston,
The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.,
Prof. Herbert H. Beck.

Secretary, Wm. E. Henry.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, M.A.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, Eugene A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
Richard O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Miss Clara A. Beck,
Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, A.M.,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern,
The Rev. George F. Bahnson,

Mrs. James S. Fry,
Mrs. H. B. Marx.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

An honorarium of $50.00 each to the treasurer, secretary and librarian was granted. The librarian was also given $50.00 for extra services during the year. Adjourned until 1:15 P.M.

VESPER MEETING

The trombones summoned about one hundred and fifty members and guests to the Vesper tables at 1:15 P.M. After the tables had been cleared, the president rose and communicated the names of those members who had passed away during the year just closed,—Mrs. A. G. Connolly, Mrs. H. B. Eggert, the Rev. M. E. Kemper, Mrs. Chas. D. Kreider, Winfield S. Keck, Mrs. A. J. Sterner, the Rev. H. A. Gerdsen, Mrs. S. C. Beckler, Osman Reinhard, Ethan Allen Weaver, Prof. Stewart Culin and the Rev. W. H. Hoch. The usual memorial stanza was sung by the assemblage. The secretary then announced the present membership status:

Active	239
Associate	46
Life Members	122
Libraries, Exc., etc.	25
Total Membership	432

Dr. Schwarze then spoke briefly of the new fireproof archive building soon to be built at Bethlehem on the campus of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, stating that all plans were ready, and that building operations would soon be commenced. The Rev. G. F. Bahnson communicated a translation of a paper entitled "Pioneer Life of Matthew Schropp." Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton was then presented and read a very interesting paper on "The Contacts of the Moravians with the Iroquois League." After the singing of a hymn, the meeting was adjourned.

WM. E. HENRY, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 25, 1930

The meeting was called to order by President Schwarze in the museum room, Whitefield House, at 11:15 A.M. There were seventeen members present. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The secretary read his report which was approved. The treasurer communicated his annual financial statement which was approved and placed on file. Abstract of this report follows:

Cash, Sept. 1, 1929	$ 528 90
Receipts	1014 33
	$1543 23
Disbursements	510 50
Balance	$1032 73

The librarian rendered a full and interesting report which was approved on motion. Miss Clara A. Beck, chairman of the Library Committee, reported that a goodly number of papers and valuable publications in the reference library had been assorted and listed.

F. H. Martin reported for the Graveyard Committee, stating that the committee had a man searching for a suitable boulder for the state marker which it is proposed to place on the lawn of the Whitefield House. The old method of keeping the various financial records was discussed, and, on motion, the treasurer was authorized to merge the funds if consistent with the by-laws of the society. The librarian then read a letter from the librarian of the Easton Public Library concerning the matter of exchange of certain publications, but no definite action was taken at the

time. The Rev. J. E. Weinland spoke of the work of restoring Schoenbrunn, Ohio, and of improvements made on the old Goshen, Ohio, cemetery, where the remains of the great Indian missionary, David Zeisberger, lie. After some discussion, a motion to donate $25.00 toward the erection of the stone wall, now being built about the cemetery, was carried. The treasurer called the attention of the society to the fact that a bond of the Baldwin Locomotive Co. had been called for redemption, and A. G. Kern and W. E. Henry were appointed to assist the treasurer in the selection of a new investment.

Mrs. P. S. Meinert and Geo. W. Hahn were nominated for active membership in the society. Later, they were elected by the Executive Committee.

On motion the officers who had served during the past year were all nominated for re-election, and the secretary was instructed to cast a ballot in their favor, which he did, and their election was declared, as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, A.M.,
Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers,
Eugene A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,
The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland,
Archibald Johnston,
The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.,
Prof. Herbert H. Beck.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, Eugene A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
Richard O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Miss Clara A. Beck,
Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, A.M.,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern,
The Rev. George F. Bahnson,
Mrs. James S. Fry,
Mrs. H. B. Marx.

Graveyard Committee, Wm. H. Milchsack,
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

An honorarium of $50.00 each was granted to the treasurer, secretary and the librarian, and $50.00 was paid the librarian for extra services during the year past. The meeting then adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

At 1:15 P.M., in the social rooms of the Moravian Church, about one hundred and sixty persons gathered at the Vesper tables. After the meal, the president read the names of the members who had died during the past year, and the gathering rose to sing a fitting memorial stanza. These have entered their rest since last September, viz:—A. W. Schmich, Mrs. R. Paul Stout, the Rev. J. Max Hark, D.D., Mrs. Anna Maus, the Rev. John S. Romig, D.D., Mrs. J. A. Miller, the Rev. Harry E. Stocker, Ph.D., G. J. Wimmer, D.S., E. J. Gerlach, Raymond S. Schmich.

The secretary announced the membership, as follows:

Active	229
Life	122
Associate	40
Exchanges, etc.	25
Total	416

Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton then read a carefully prepared paper on "Moravian Undertakings at Oley, Pa." The Rev. J. E. Weinland, of Dover, Ohio, was called on for remarks and explained the successful attempts to restore the old and seemingly lost

Moravian Missionary station at Schoenbrunn, near New Philadelphia, Ohio. Almost one hundred thousand dollars have been expended by the State of Ohio, the Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society, and private citizens, while our own records, both in the archives at Bethlehem and those of the M. H. S. have been of very great assistance in carrying out the project. This site, located perfectly by aid of a map found in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, has now become a state park, with thousands of persons visiting it from almost every quarter of the world. Mr. Weinland has been the moving spirit in this restoration of what was the first church settlement west of the Ohio river. This congregation also had the first school house in that territory, and had adoped the first civil code for its government. The Rev. John Baer Stoudt, D.D., of Allentown, responded to the invitation of the president, and spoke appreciatively of the able exposition of Bishop Hamilton's paper on Moravian activities at Oley, and added some observations of his own concerning the historic significance of the work done there. The librarian was called upon, and he gave a brief sketch of his work during the past year, and told of the appreciation of the museum and library by visitors from all parts of the country. He also read a list of books and articles of interest which had been donated during the year.

An opportunity was given for nomination to membership in the society, and the secretary nominated Mrs. Harry C. Miller, of Lititz, daughter of Prof. A. R. Beck, a charter member, and for many years a vice-president of the society.

Adjournment.

WM. E. HENRY, Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

OCTOBER 1, 1931

The meeting was called to order by the president in the museum room, Whitefield House, at 11:15 A.M. Twenty-one members were present. The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held August 21st, and the minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The secretary's report was read and special reference was made to the pilgrimage made by a delegation of our society to Wyalusing, Pa., on July 30, 1931, to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the dedication of the monument erected at that place to mark the site of a flourishing mission among the Indians from 1765 to 1772. (See p. 172, vol. 1, Moravian Historical Society Transactions.) The report was accepted. The treasurer then submitted his annual financial statement of which the following is an abstract:

Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1930	$1032 73
Receipts	1891 74
	$2924 47
Disbursements	1950 91
Balance on hand	$ 973 56

This report was accepted and placed on file.

The librarian submitted his report for the past year and it was approved. Miss Clara A. Beck, chairman of the Library Committee, was called on and stated that a number of papers for publication had been examined, assorted and several selected for recommendation to the Publication Committee. She had made special research for records from which to glean information upon which to base suitable inscriptions for the markers to be

placed on the old Brethren's and Sisters' houses in Nazareth. She had made several inscriptions to be submitted for approval.

The Graveyard Committee had no report to make, but the president of the society stated that some excavating had been done at Wyalusing (Friedenshuetten), under the supervision of Dr. J. E. Weinland, and that he had located what was thought to be the foundation of the fire-place of the old church, and had found some other relics of interest. (Dr. Weinland was unavoidably absent from this meeting.)

Dr. Gapp stated that Dr. de Schweinitz had asked him to present a plea to the society for financial assistance in the publication of Bro. Bechler's "History of Medical Missions." After some discussion, a motion to grant $50.00 to this project, was carried.

The following persons were nominated to active membership in the society:—Mrs. Herman T. Frueauff, Miss Matilda More, Mrs. V .M. Reinke, Miss Anna D. Frack, Miss Ella S. Frack, Miss Ellen S. Hahn, Mrs. Geo. W. Hahn, Mrs. Mary A. Beck, Mrs. Eva M. Heckman, Robert T. Henry and Frank J. Seyfried. Subsequently, they were elected by the Executive Committee.

Election of officers ensued. A motion to renominate the retiring officers was carried, and the secretary, on instruction of the meeting, cast a ballot in their favor.

Officers elected were:
President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.
Secretary, Wm. E. Henry.
Treasurer, James S. Fry.
Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, M.A.
Vice-Presidents, The Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D.,
The Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.,
The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, D.D.,
Miss Adelaide Fries, M.A.,
Mrs. Elizabeth Lehman Myers,
Eugene A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D., L.H.D.,
Wm. H. Milchsack,
The Rev. Joseph E. Weinland, D.D.,
Archibald Johnston,

The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.,
Prof. Herbert H. Beck.
Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,
Albert G. Rau, M.S., Ph.D., L.H.D.,
Harry J. Meyers.
Board of Managers, Eugene A. Rau, Ph.G.,
Albert Brodhead,
Richard O. Beitel,
Walter Crawford, Ph.G.,
William E. Henry.
Library Committee, Miss Clara A. Beck,
Theodore Kampmann,
The Rev. P. S. Meinert, M.A.,
Warren E. Siegfried,
Andrew G. Kern,
The Rev. Geo. F. Bahnson,
Mrs. James S. Fry,
Mrs. H. B. Marx.
Graveyard Committee, William H. Milchsack.
Frank H. Martin,
Albert O. Sturgis.

The time for holding the annual meeting was discussed, the fourth Thursday in September having proved more or less inconvenient on account of the opening of the schools and colleges. It was determined that the Executive Committee be instructed to arrange a more suitable date.

The usual grant of $50.00 each was made to the secretary, treasurer and librarian, and $50.00 was ordered paid the librarian for extra service during the year.

Adjournment.

VESPER MEETING

The Vesper meeting was held, according to program, at 1:15 P.M. About one hundred and seventy-five members and guests were seated about the tables. The repast over, the president announced the names of members who had departed this life since we last met,—Miss Emily Bell, Frank J. Klinker, Geo. J.

Lehman, Wilson E. Beck, Mrs. O. B. Desh, Prof. Edw. Hart and Mrs. Laura Mutchler. The company rose and sang the customary stanza in their memory.

The secretary then reported the present membership as follows:

Life	118
Active	225
Associate	37
Exchanges, etc.	29
Total	409

The president extended greetings to the members and friends present, and called on Dr. A. G. Rau to speak to the meeting on a subject of his own choice. Dr. Rau then gave a pleasing and informative address on "Christian Frederick Post and Colonial Politics, 1755 to 1763." The society was pleased to note as one of our guests, Mr. George P. Stalford, of Wyalusing, Pa., on whose farm the site of Friedenshuetten mission was located. Dr. W. L. Estes, Sr., was introduced and also spoke briefly in appreciation of the work of the society and the pleasant associations he enjoyed with many of its members. Dr. A. D. Thaeler, a delegate to the recent general synod of the Moravian Church held at Herrnhut, Saxony, spoke of conditions in Germany and other countries as observed by him during his sojourn in Europe last summer. He specially stressed the desirability of sending a delegate from the American Province, North, to the bi-centennial anniversary celebration at Herrnhut, of the beginning of foreign missions by the Moravian Church in 1732, on St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, West Indies. Dr. S. H. Gapp spoke of the care of the Unity's archives, and stated that the German Province would highly appreciate any assistance which we could give them to aid in the proper protection of these priceless records.

The librarian then gave a brief report of gifts received during the past year, and also of the growing importance as well as increasing interest in the library and museum. The number of visitors has increased almost four fold in the past few years. After singing a hymn the president declared the meeting adjourned.

WM. E. HENRY, Secretary.

In Memoriam

Mrs. Anna Pownall

was born in Behlehem, Penna., Oct. 16, 1855. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 11th, 1923. She joined the Society in 1887.

Mrs. E. A. Rau

was born on the island of St. Kitts, British West Indies, Oct. 2, 1850. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., May 4, 1923. She joined the Society in 1894.

Mrs. Charles Dodson

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., 1843. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., 1923. She joined the Society in 1890.

G. A. Schneebeli

was born in Neusalz, Germany, May 23, 1853. He died at Nazareth, Penna., Feb. 26, 1923. As a member of the Executive Committee of the M. H. S., he manifested a steady interest in the organization and its various projects.

Charles H. Bytel

was born at Nazareth, Penna., Nov. 12, 1846. He died at Garden City, N. Y., Nov. 14, 1922. He joined the Society in 1888.

W. S. Cortright

was born July 8, 1851. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., June 20, 1923. He joined the Society in 1918.

A. B. Fichter

was born in Basel, Switzerland, Jan. 27, 1860. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Oct. 2, 1922. He joined the Society in 1898.

Mrs. Marietta Borhek Meyers

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., July 10,1871. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., May 10, 1924. She joined the Society in 1890.

John Leibert

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., June 15, 1864. He died at Bethlehem, June 9, 1924. He joined the Society in 1918.

Miss Margaret Knapp

was born in Hopewell, N. Y., July, 1865. She died at Nazareth, Penna., Oct. 10, 1923. She joined the Society in 1919.

Samuel R. Odenwelder

was born in Bethlehem Township, Jan. 23, 1847. He died at Nazareth, Jan. 26, 1924. He joined the Society in 1892.

Thomas H. Atherton

was born ————. He died ————, 1924. He joined the Society in 1896.

Mrs. S. J. Blum

was born in Philadelphia, Penna., March 19, 1854. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., Oct. 12, 1923. She joined the Society in 1919.

Heinrich Albin Voigt

was born in Marknenkirchen, Germany, May 10, 1867. He died at Nazareth, Penna., Dec. 12, 1923.

Otto Hesse

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 12, 1867. He died at Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 21, 1923.

Mrs. E. Grant Tice

was born in Allentown, Penna., Aug. 26, 1875. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., Sept. 19, 1924. She joined the Society in 1922.

Mrs. H. P. Hammann

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., July 26, 1843. She died in Philadelphia, Penna., June 6, 1925. She joined the Society in 1894.

Mrs. Frank Stout

was born March 8, 1837. She died at Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 5, 1925. She joined the Society in 1900.

Abraham S. Schropp

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., March 22, 1841. He died at Nazareth, Penna., Jan. 14, 1895. He joined the Society in 1865. As a member of the Executive Committee of the M. H. S., he manifested unfailing interest in the objectives of the Society. His contributions to the Museum have been greatly appreciated.

Mansfield Merriman

was born ————. He died ....., 1925. He joined the Society in 1888.

E. H. Ellis

was born ————. He died ————, 1925. He joined the Society in 1869.

Edward Denham

was born ————. He died ————, 1925. He joined the Society in 1879.

Clarence E. Romig

was born in Antigua, B. W. I., May 17, 1873. He died Aug. 5, 1925. He joined the Society in 1888.

D. Hayes Keech

was born in York, Penna., Dec. 5, 1867. He died at Allentown, Penna., Oct. 11, 1923.

Samuel D. Luckenbach

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., March 18, 1867. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 3, 1925. He joined the Society in ————.

Herman O. Hark

was born in Nazareth, Penna., Dec. 29, 1856. He died at Nazareth, Penna., June 22, 1923.

Louis Eysenbach

was born at Lititz, Penna., ————. He died in Philadelphia, Penna., July 14, 1925. He joined the Society in 1888.

Mrs. Emma Mackie

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Nov. 25, 1847. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 21, 1924. She joined the Society in 1905.

Mrs. Edythe M. Clewell

was born in Pennsburg, Penna., Dec. 27, 1875. She died in Nazareth, Penna., May 16, 1925. She joined the Society in 1921.

Mrs. Charles Messinger

was born ————. She died in Nazareth, Penna., April 21, 1925. She joined the Society in 1920.

John R. Laubach

was born in Georgetown, near Nazareth, Penna., Nov. 7, 1857. He died in Nazareth, Penna., March 9, 1926.

John F. Giering

was born in Catasuqua, Penna., April 1, 1852. He died in Nazareth, Penna., Nov. 10, 1925. He joined the Society in 1888.

Mrs. Walter Crawford

was born in Bethlehem, Pa., Feb. 23, 1861. She died in Nazareth, Penna., March 11, 1926.

William Steinmiller

was born in New York City, N. Y., Aug. 21, 1866. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 26, 1926.

A. G. Connolly

was born in Lakemont, N. Y., Aug. 29, 1871. He died in Nazareth, Penna., Sept. 24, 1926. He joined the Society in 1920.

Mrs. A. M. Lear

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Aug. 27, 1869. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., May 5, 1926. She joined the Society in 1919.

Mrs. G. A. Schneebeli

was born in New Hanover, Montgomery Co., Penna., July 14, 1851. She died in Chicago, Ill., Aug. 7, 1926. She joined the Society in 1888.

Charles Henry

was born in Boulton, near Nazareth, Penna., July 3, 1854. He died in Boulton, Sept. 16, 1926. He joined the Society in ————.

Edward T. Henry

was born in Boulton, near Nazareth, Penna., May 22, 1842. He died in Boulton, Nov. 10, 1925. He joined the Society in ————.

Mrs. Owen F. Leibert

was born in Philadelphia, Penna., Oct. 9, 1841. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., 1927. She joined the Society in ————.

Miss Clara Henry

was born in Boulton, near Nazareth, Penna., March 4, 1844. She died in Boulton, July 21, 1927. She joined the Society in 1865.

Miss Marie Hesse

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Oct. 21, 1862. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Nov. 1, 1926. She joined the Society in 1888.

Mrs. F. E. Luckenbach

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., April 9, 1841. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Nov. 28, 1926. She joined the Society in ————.

Miss Caroline Stadiger

was born in Friedensville near Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 5, 1846. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., June 21, 1927. She joined the Society in 1882.

Clarence Wolle

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Oct. 14, 1849. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., July 3, 1927. He joined the Society in 1889.

H. A. Groman

was born ————. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 10, 1926. He joined the Society in 1923.

A. C. Prince

was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., Sept. 8, 1844. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., July 31, 1927. He joined the Society in 1891.

Herbert K. Martin

was born in Nazareth, Penna., Dec. 5, 1895. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 3, 1927. He joined the Society in 1925.

Bishop Charles L. Moench, D.D.

was born in Lititz, Penna., Feb. 20, 1855. He died in Atlantic City, N. J., June 11, 1927. He joined the Society in ————.

W. H. Vogler

was born in St. Croix, D. W. I., April 24, 1847. He died at Nazareth, Penna., April 24, 1927. He joined the Society in 1916. In the capacity of Secretary-Librarian, for a number of years, he rendered the Society most valuable service in re-arranging the accumulated museum treasures of the Society. His researches in the records of the Society bore fruit in various papers communicated at the annual meetings.

A. R. Beck

was born in Lititz, Penna., Dec. 16, 1833. He died in Lititz, Penna., 1928. He joined the Society in 1858. A Vice President of the Society and Archivist of the Lititz Moravian congregation, he studied original sources with care and discrimination. On various occasions, members of the Society benefitted by papers he communicated at annual meetings.

E. C. Roest

was born Feb. 18, 1861. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., March 4, 1928. He joined the Society in ————.

John W. Fries, LL.D.

was born in Salem, N. C., Nov. 7, 1846. He died in Winston-Salem, N. C., Nov. 21, 1927. He joined the Society in 1919.

Mrs G. T. Martin

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., May 19, 1887. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., March 12, 1928. She joined the Society in 1925.

Ephraim Loux

was born ————. He died in Nazareth, Penna., 1928. He joined the Society in 1888.

Mrs. Warren A. Wilbur

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., May 15, 1861. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., April 4, 1928. She joined the Society in 1892.

Herman A. Doster

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Feb., 1833. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 11, 1927. He joined the Society in 1888.

Mrs. Wm. V. Knauss

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 23, 1843. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 1, 1928. She joined the Society in 1886.

Mrs. Ottelia Borhek

was born in New Dorp, Staten Island, N. Y., Oct. 15, 1846. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Feb. 11, 1928. She joined the Society in 1897.

Mrs. A. G. Connolly

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Sept. 15, ————. She died in Nazareth, Penna., Jan. 24, 1929. She joined the Society in 1887.

Mrs H. B. Eggert

was born April 11, 1858. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., March 29, 1929. She joined the Society in 1917.

The Rev. Manuel E. Kemper

was born at Silver Lake, Ind., June 24, 1857. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., July 31, 1929. He joined the Society in 1897.

Mrs. Charles D. Kreider

was born in Philadelphia, Penna., Sept. 30, 1870. She died in Nazareth, Penna., Oct. 29, 1929. She joined the Society in 1899.

Winfield S. Keck

was born in ————. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 10, 1929. He joined the Society in 1895.

Mrs. A. J. Sterner

was born ————. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Nov. 13, 1928. She joined the Society in 1897.

The Rev. Herman A. Gerdsen

was born in Laketown, Minn., Feb. 9, 1857. He died in Excelsior, Minn., Sept. 17, 1929. He joined the Society in 1888.

Mrs. S. C. Beckler

was born in Lititz, Penna., ————. She died in Lititz, Penna., 1929. She joined the Society in 1905.

Osman Reinhard

was born in ————. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., 1929. He joined the Society in 1909.

Ethan Allen Weaver

was born in Jacobsburg, Penna., ————. He died in ————, 1929. He joined the Society in 1893.

Stewart Culin

was born ————. He died in 1929. He joined the Society in 1897.

The Rev. Wm. H. Hoch

was born in ————. He died in Rochester, N. Y., 1929. He joined the Society in 1871.

James F. Laubach

was born in Northampton, Penna., Feb. 12, 1864. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 26, 1929. He joined the Society in 1918.

A. W. Schmich

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Sept. 16, 1853. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., May 14, 1930. He joined the Society in 1920.

Mrs. R. Paul Stout

was born in Hokendauqua, Penna., March 15, 1870. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 2, 1930. She joined the Society in 1910.

The Rev. J. Max Hark, D.D.

was born in Philadelphia, Penna., June 4, 1849. He died in St. Croix, Virgin Islands of the U. S. A., July 24, 1930. He joined the Society in ————. Historical papers of value prepared by Dr. Hark, read at certain annual meetings of the Society, have appeared in the published "Transactions" of the Society.

Mrs. Anna L. Maus

was born in Nazareth, Penna., Oct. 3, 1861. She died in Nazareth, Penna., March 24, 1930. She joined the Society in 1903.

THE REV. JOHN S. ROMIG, D.D.

was born in Antigua, B. W. I., July 29, 1869. He died at Penny Farms, Fla., Aug. 13, 1930. He joined the Society in ————.

MRS. JOHN A. MILLER

was born in Easton, Penna., Sept. 20, 1874. She died in Nazareth, Penna., Feb. 25, 1920. She joined the Society in 1919.

THE REV. HARRY E. STOCKER, PH.D.

was born in Niskey, near Nazareth, Penna., March 19, 1876. He died in New York City, Dec. 26, 1929. Among historical monographs that came from his pen, the valuable "History of the Moravian Mission among the Indians on the White River in Indiana" contributed to the "Transactions" of the Society deserves special mention.

GEORGE J. WIMMER

was born in Macungie, Penna., Oct. 8, 1863. He died in Nazareth, Penna., April 27, 1930. He joined the Society in ————.

E. J. GERLACH

was born ————. He died in Bethlehem ,Penna., Feb. 10, 1930. He joined the Society in ————.

RAYMOND S. SCHMICH

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Dec. 20, 1886. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Nov. 25, 1929. He joined the Society in 1918.

MISS EMILY BELL

was born in Philadelphia, Penna., ————. She died in Philadelphia, 1930. She joined the Society in 1864.

FRANK J. KLINKER

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Aug. 31, 1862. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., Nov. 18, 1930. He joined the Society in 1896.

GEORGE J. LEHMAN

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 15, 1874. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., May 14, 1931. He joined the Society in 1890.

WILSON E. BECK

was born in Nazareth, Penna., Oct. 9, 1859. He died in Nazareth, Penna., Oct. 26, 1930. He joined the Society in 1890.

MRS. ORLANDO B. DESH

was born in Tuckerton, N. J., Oct. 10, 1843. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., Jan. 2, 1931. She joined the Society in 1887.

EDWARD HART

was born in ————. He died in Easton, Penna., 1931. He joined the Society in ————.

MRS. LAURA MUTCHLER

was born in Hanover Township, Northampton Co., Penna., 1866. She died in Nazareth, Penna., Aug. 20, 1931. She joined the Society in ———— .

The Single Brethren's House at Nazareth, Pennsylvania

By Henry A. Jacobson

In the year 1770, it became evident to our forefathers, who were laboring for the best interests of the Barony of Nazareth, that the Brethren's House at Christian-spring must either be enlarged so as to accommodate a greater number of trades, and thus provide a larger revenue for the support of the Church, or a new House must be built.

Having decided that the latter plan was the most advisable they were induced to locate the building at "New Nazareth," partly by the fact that a number of single brethren had already been permitted to settle there, and had been provided with shops wherein they could work at their trades. Most of them boarded and slept at the Hall, the arrangement was unsatisfactory, and the desirability of having one building to accommodate all of them was evident.

Many consultations were held to determine upon the plan and purposes of the building, and on Dec. 20th, 1771, the single brethren of the Moravian Church were called together, and it seemed proper to them, and also to the Elders' Conference assembled on Jan. 13th, 1772, that the matter should be referred to the General Conference of the Province, located at Bethlehem.

This body ratified the proposition at a meeting held in February of the same year, and appointed the brethren Bonn and Golkowsky as directors of the enterprise; in March, 1772, Bro. Dettmers arrived in Nazareth. He was to have charge of the financial affairs of the Barony, and he was the right man for the place, for whenever any new building enterprise was projected, he firmly refused to allow it to be commenced unless either the funds for the payment of the same were in hand or certain to be received before such building was completed.

In April, 1772, it was considered contrary to the directions of the General Synod to proceed further without the consent of the Unity's Elders Conference in Germany, and therefore a memorial embodying their views was forwarded to them by the hands of a

member of that body who was then making a visitation to the Brethren's Congregations in this country (Bro. Gregor). The answer thereto, received in November, sanctioned the project. However, at a meeting held Dec. 10th, 1772, the Elders' Conference of Nazareth determined to hold a joint consultation of the Bethlehem and Nazareth conferences, which took place at Bethlehem, Jan. 15th, 1773, at which time it was resolved to confer still further with the single brethren at Chrisian-spring; Bro. Nathaniael (Seidel) came from Bethlehem for this purpose, and informed them of the proposition of U. E. C., viz., that the new building was to be occupied only by workshops and the brethren should eat and sleep in the Hall; however the brethren at Christian-spring objected so strongly to this that the plan was laid aside; then it was proposed to build a wing to their house, (the small choir house at Nazareth which they were then occupying) this addition to be 54 feet long and 24 feet wide, where the brethren could begin to work at their several trades. The details of this plan were presented and explained to the Elders' Conference, by Bro. Dettmers, on Feb. 4th, 1773, and on April 30th work was commenced.

As this building was not specially intended for religious purposes, the corner stone was not laid with any formal ceremonies, although there was a special service for the brethren on that day.

Within one year the house was finished and on May 18th, 1774, it was dedicated; at two o'clock in the afternoon, all the members of the choirs of single brethren, larger boys and smaller boys assembled at the Hall, and led by the brethren Nathaniel (Seidel), Lembke, Peter, Dettmers, and Weinland, they proceeded to the new home of the older members of these choirs.

At the head of the procession came the trombonists playing some favorite chorales; the members of these choirs, as also all those who had in any way assisted in the erection of the building, then had a Love-feast in the largest room in the house, viz., the dormitory on the third story; first several hymns were sung, partly solo by Bro. Nathaniel who presided, and partly by the whole company, after which Bro. Nathaniel addressed them, explaining to them God's purposes concerning Nazareth in general and this house in particular. In the course of his remarks he dwelt particularly on the fact that all the choirs taken together constituted

the congregation, and therefore they should be careful to perform their duties as in the sight of the Lord; Bro. Lembke then read a hymn which he had composed for the occasion; (this hymn was in German)—An ode (Psalm) prepared for this service was then sung accompanied by several string and wind instruments. All the participants seemed to be impressed by these services and in later years they were frequently recalled to mind. A short intermission followed, when the members of the choir again assembled, and after a brief address by Bro. Nathaniel the communicant members partook of the Lord's Supper under a deep sense that the Lord was truly in their midst.

In the evening the closing service took place; Bro. David Zeisberger addressed the brethren in an earnest and eloquent manner, after which, all kneeling, he dedicated this house to the service of the Lord in prayer.

The occupants numbered 23 (and this was always thereafter the average number), viz., Simon Christoph Meyer, Director; Philip Meyer, Master Shoemaker, and under his charge, John Hanke, Matthew Hanke, Christian Ettwein; William Lister, Master Tailor and under him Gottfried Zahm; Franz Seifert as Master Weaver and under him Joseph Demuth, Samuel Flex, John Ohneberg, and John Reitz; Jacob Schneider as Tailor and Dettloff Delfs as Cook; also the larger boys who were apprentices,—Christian Henry Beck, Renatus Lambke, Joseph Kaske; and the younger boys, John Daniel Osterle, John Frederick Beyer, Abraham Boemper and John Henry Miller. To these must be added the brethren Shenk, Gershberger and Senseman, masons, who were then working at Brother Otto's house.

The house completed was a stone structure, three stories in height; in the basement were the kitchen and dining room; on the second floor was a small chapel and on the third floor a dormitory; the remaining rooms were used as shops for shoemaking, tailoring, weaving and carpentering.

Back of the house was an orchard and a garden and here a barn was erected in 1787; six leather fire buckets were purchased about the same time.

The religious life of these single brethren of the Moravian Church consisted of morning and evening services each day, at

which time addresses were made, communications, letters and reports from Germany heard, while the reading of Zinzendorf's sermons or the singing of the Liturgies closed the services.

The brethren either worked in the shops in the house, or were permitted to go to Gnadenthal or Christian-spring if their services were needed there; in the evening, during the winter, school was held for the younger apprentices.

Before each Choir communion (which was usually celebrated at intervals of 8 weeks) each brother was expected to confer with Brother Meyer, concerning his soul's best interests. Special services were held on Aug. 29th, preparatory to which the Nazareth brethren attended a meeting at Christian-spring, at which time there was an address, a prayer, and finally the Pedilavium. On the festival day (i.e. Aug. 29th), after an early morning meeting at 6 o'clock at Nazareth, all the members of the Choir proceeded to Christian-spring, where a meeting was held at 9 o'clock. This consisted of an address by the pastor of the Nazareth Congregation, after which the new members of the Choir were received by the imposition of hands by the presiding minister, and by the kiss of peace by the choir superintendent.

At noon all partook of the midday meal at a common table. At two o'clock there was a Love-feast, and at five choir communion. In the evening in the small chapel in the Hall, the pastor held the closing meeting of the day, at which the rest of the congregation were usually present. The names of candidates for admission to the choir were submitted to the lot by the Elders' Conference. In the same manner it was determined who should be permitted to look on at the communion, preparatory to admission to communicant membership, and also whether those who had been suspended from the communion for some misdemeanor might again participate in the same.

A few days after the choir festival (Aug. 29th), those who had been admitted to the choir were called before the Elders' Conference and admonished as to their duties and responsibilities. Shortly before Lent a special Love-feast was appointed for all who during the past year became communicant members. (Sometimes these were very few in number.)

Some of their church duties consisted in furnishing musical

accompaniment to the singing in all church services where required. Sometimes, too, during the Revolutionary War, when the hostile Indians approached too near, the brethren were required to patrol the premises about Nazareth Hall during church services held there and to give notice if they perceived any sign of danger.

In 1799, for several months a night watch was established. The single brethren were to patrol the town from 10 P.M. to 4 A.M., and at the end of every hour they announced the time; the occasion for this regulation was the fear of being annoyed by hostile inhabitants of the surrounding country.

In 1802, the town was patrolled by some of the single brethren during the Christmas and New Year night services, for on those days the people flocked from the country into the town, and created disorders and disturbances. Equally responsible, too, was their position whan they were detailed in their turn with the rest of the congregation to watch the orchards in the town to protect them from the depredations of residents in the neighborhood who plundered the fruit trees while the members were at church. Sad to relate, however, on a few occasions these watchmen, after driving off the marauders, plucked of the fruit themselves and detection was followed by exclusion from the communion for a specified period.

Their choir directors were careful not to neglect their musical training, and their services were sometimes requested for special meetings held at other places. Thus on Nov. 25th, 1787, some of them were asked to furnish music at Pastor Ernst's church, ten miles distant, on the occasion of a service in memory of a Lutheran preacher, *Muhlenberg,* who had died not long before. Again on May 15th, 1795, Bro. Reichel was requested to preach at the dedication of a new church at Mt. Bethel, and all the Moravian musicians were invited to furnish the music for that occasion. They were called upon to render similar service at the dedication of the *new church in Bethlehem in* 1806.

Once a year the musicians and "Diener," (those who served) had a special Love-feast. Once a year also there was a special collection for defraying the expenses of the church music. The musicians were excused from service as pall-bearers, but were required to pay their share for the Love-feast cakes. In 1780, the

spinet which had been in use at "Old Nazareth" was removed to the single brethren's housse. (This instrument is now in the Museum of the Moravian Historical Society, at Nazareth, Pa.)

The character of the religious training which it was intended that the brethren should experience is shown by the instruction given to the Directors of the household, which were not only intended for perusal by themselves, but portions were also annually communicated to the brethren in a special service. The main idea in them was that the brethren were all to form one family who looked to the Saviour for assistance and help in all times of need, and who recognized no work or duty to be superior to service rendered to Him or His Church.

They were to encourage each other to serve the Lord alone,—to help those who felt their helplessness,—to seek to restore the backsliding,—to reclaim those who had erred from the faith,—to refrain from harsh judgments, from strife and quarreling, from unseemly levity, from sin of every sort;—in short they were to strive to make their home in the Moravian Brethren's House a house wherein the Lord would be pleased to dwell, and to conduct themselves as sons of God who had covenanted together to live to Him alone. Their Directors were to care for those entrusted to their charge, with patience, and to reprove if need be with due discretion, and with that authority which would result with constant communion with the Saviour. This was indeed a high ideal, and they used all diligence to carry it out; but while a great many, who lived there during the 40 years of its existence, were certainly benefitted thereby, and proved this by their future lives, yet a considerable number rebelled against the restrictions that were placed about them and tried to free themselves therefrom at every opportunity. Certainly, the whole body should not be condemned for the sins of the minority; nevertheless the unprejudiced examination of the records of those times will prove that in this enterprise our fore-fathers were less successful in the end than in some of their other undertakings. It is unreasonable to blame them very severely, for they had great obstacles to contend with,—among them the fact that on the the eve of the Revolutionary War, the minds of all the inhabitants were unsettled, no one knew whose rule to prefer, they were subjected to ridicule if they respected too rigidly the allegiance they considered due the King of England.

What wonder that in their perplexity, upon one occasion, the Elders' Conference resorted to the use of the lot, in order to inquire of the Lord whether they should take into consideration how to act with regard to the new "Test Oath;" and when the Lord decided for them that they should do nothing, they were satisfied and resolved that they would regard the Lord alone as their King.

But it was useless to try to curb the spirits of the young men of the town. Soldiers frequently passed through the town and kept them informed of the movements of the armies and of their varied fortunes. This led to noisy discussions and great diversity of opinions.

The Church authorities tried their best to stem the current, but in 1778 some of the single brethren were found to have taken the "Test Oath" secretly, and no remonstrance was able to make them express sorrow therefor; then, too, they were summoned twice a year to appear at Easton for military drill, refusal to do so being punished by a fine.

Already on May 17th, 1777, it had been decided that if a single brother became a soldier, he could not remain a member of the Moravian Church. Hence resulted constant contests, for the heavy fines were not to be evaded. In 1777, they amounted to 26 pounds for the single brethren, and the following fall to 53 pounds additional. Special collections were made and even some of the profits of the trades carried on in the Single Brethrens House were encroached upon. The church authorities seemed determined to use every exertion to raise the amount of the fines, if only the brethren would not go to the muster, but often when presence at the same had been forbidden, it was discovered that some brethren had gone there secretly in order thus to escape the fines. When, however, in 1780, the township was taxed to the amount of 10,000 pounds, Bro. Dettmers despaired of being able to raise the share allotted to Nazareth.

Money was depreciating at an alarming rate. In 1780, $100 in Continental Currency was worth but one dollar in hard money, and in 1781—$120 equalled $1; a pair of shoes cost $60, a pound of sugar sold for $10, a barrel of flour for $1,500. Continental money continued to depreciate in the hands of the people until it became valueless.

About this time the age limit for military service was changed. Instead of 21 to 45, it became 18 to 54, and thus it remained till 1807; every method was tried by the Church to raise money to pay the fines; land was sold, the brethren were compelled to pay more for their meals the highest point reached being $2.00 for dinner; substitutes were purchased as cheaply as possible. Petitions were presented to the Assembly asking for the release of certain of the brethren who were unfit for military duty; investigations were set on foot to see if they were not requried to furnish more than their just quota of men.

On one occasion the Sheriff came from Easton to arrest the delinquents because the money for their fines was not forthcoming. It was not surprising, therefore, that every year the accounts of the Brethren's House showed an ever increasing deficit, which it seemed impossible to liquidate. One year the single brethren paid the fines themselves. The next year they were unable to do so, and every year the members of the Congregation became less willing to contribute the required amounts. These difficulties crippled them so severely that in the end they contributed in no small degree to the breaking up of the choir system. Even after peace had been declared they could not make both ends meet. They added farming to their other industries, but without improvement in their finances. They thought that if the house were larger so as to accommodate more trades the profits might be greater.

During every year from 1781 to 1799, plans were therefore considered for a new building to be erected between the then existing House and the Square; in 1799 "the lot" decided that the House should not be built which closed the discussion of the matter.

In 1805, the shoemaker shop was closed and, in 1811, it was formally proposed to appropriate the building as a residence for families. Meanwhile, in 1807, the militia law was changed, attendance at muster being required but once a year, and the limit as to age being from 21 to 45 as it had been originally. The climax was reached in 1814, when the fine was increased, and to escape it, all those who were enrolled were present at Easton. The next day (Oct. 25), the subject was discussed by the Church Board (Aufseher collegium). It was finally decided thereafter to permit all those who desired to attend the muster, to do so without let or hindrance.

Thus the contest come to a close, and, may be, had the Church authorities yielded, the existence of the Single Brethren's House might have been secured for a longer period. But loaded with an accumulated deficit of more than 1162 Pounds, it was handed over to the care of the Sustentation, which had been furnishing the means for its support for many years.

Returning to the earlier history of this venerable pile, let us glance briefly at the daily life of the household. It has been mentioned that the disorders of the Revolutionary War brought along a restless anxiety about politics, which caused their director no little concern. In 1778, a tendency to adopt the opinions of the Free-thinkers was discovered, and it was suggested that it might be well to send these brethren to Europe, so as to be rid of them. No such further mention is made until 1795, when some brethren talked of forming a Republican or Jacobin organization, such as existed at Lancaster. This plan was nipped in the bud. They were also eager to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence even as early as 1787; and, annually thereafter, in spite of the protests of the Conference, a cannon was fired off on July fourth, at first near the town,—later at Old Nazareth,—then on one of the neighboring hills. Let us hope, however, that no desecration was intended when, in 1815, it was discharged from the site of the Old Graveyard, then already in an abandoned condition. The use of arms seems to have become more general, but it led to many excesses, for sometimes the brethren went shooting (or fishing) on Sunday. Frequently shots at night, in the streets, or at Old Nazareth, disturbed the quiet of the town. Contact with the soldiers brought with it the immoderate use of tobacco, intoxicating drink, gambling, dancing, horse racing and the like,—all of which caused much concern to good Bro. Meyer, who was much too mild to be able to deal vigorously with such disorders, but who offered up many an earnest prayer for his erring brethren.

More innocent pranks were to stay up later than the rules of the House permitted, appropriating the hall lamp to their own use, thus leaving the passage in total darkness, absenting themselves in a body from meeting (as happened in 1777), and the like, all of which sorely tried the patience of those who were over them. Yet, in spite of all this they esteemed Bro. Meyer very highly, for when in December, 1784, he had the misfortune to fall and break

his leg, all, without exception, cared for him for eighteen weeks as though he were their own father. His successor, Bro. Samuel Kramsch, firm and judicious, who came in 1786, was better fitted to manage such a household, and the moral tone of this band of young men improved from year to year. Bro. Meyer moved to Bethlehem where he lived in retirement until his death the following year.

In 1788, Bro. Kramsch moved to Salem, N. C., and was succeeded by Bro. Lewis Huebener, who had previously been director of the single brethren at Lititz. He was a very gifted man and an excellent preacher. He frequently preached at Nazareth and Bethlehem in the public services, and several times he held forth in the neighboring country churches at Plainfield, Forks and elsewhere. in 1790, he removed to Bethlehem. His successor was Nicholas Hoeber, who had come from Zeist. In 1799, he was succeeded by Conrad Kreuser, who served one year. Then came Christian Winkler, 1800 to 1804. He was followed by David Moritz Michael, 1804 to 1808, when he removed to Bethlehem. Jacob Rauschenberger had charge from 1808 to 1813, when he removed to Lititz, and finally the Pastor, Bro. Abraham Reinke, had charge.

Though the true history of those times must be painted in more or less sombre colors, it is pleasing to know that there were many redeeming features. Many deeds of self-denial might be recorded which were intended to lighten the financial burdens of the enterprise, such as refusing to take pay for labor performed for the benefit of the rest of the brethren, or their attempts to do without the assistance of a cook and performing among themselves the duties of that position,—and the like. Mention might be made of Jacob Van Vleck, Schweishaupt, Till and Michael, who represent those who consecrated their musical abilities to the Lord by composing sacred anthems which are still the delight of music-loving Moravians.

Michael Jung and Frueauff might be mentioned as representatives of those who labored in the Lord's service as ministers or missionaries. Others became honest and conscientious business men who are still held in worthy remembrance.

The daily memoranda of these forty years bear testimony to many an earnest supplication, and to many persevering endeavors

in behalf of Christ and His Church. Amidst the greatest financial distress the foreign work was not forgotten, for the collections for this cause were greater in amount than any others. When the Lord saw that its appointed work was finished He refused to sanction its continuance, but while it was in progress He blessed it to the good of many souls. Little do we realize at the present time how much faith and devotion our forefathers had. For His sake they would suffer hardships and poverty. They felt that they owed allegiance to Him in preference to any earthly government of whatever name.

Their faith was not put to shame. Although they were compelled to see that their methods were frequently not as successful as they expected, yet they knew that the Lord would not therefore forsake them. Were they in doubt,—in child-like faith they asked of Him what course they should pursue, and in His decision as given by the lot they acquiesced cheerfully, willingly and without murmur. In their darkest days they were able at the close of each year to thank their Saviour for having helped them thus far.

The Single Brethren of the Moravian Church in the Barony of Nazareth, Pa.

By Clara A. Beck

It has pleased Brother Henry Jacobson to translate from certain diaries in the possession of the Moravian Historical Society, the story of the Single Brethren's House in the Barony of Nazareth, at the same time giving us the names of some who were "entrants" on the occasion of its dedication in 1774.

We assume therefore that it would give added interest to this chapter of Church history to have more intimate knowledge concerning these men, whose activities and interests were bound up with its development, as well as with the development of "New Nazareth," which had just been laid out, in 1771, as is shown by the surveyor's maps.

Our researches along this line have resulted in the following facts, taken from various authoritative sources, as well as an occasional tradition bringing us into closer sympathy with their ambitions, their difficulties and their personal characteristics.

It might be well to add that these men, who submitted themselves to the Church authorities and gave their earnings to the Lord's cause in Nazareth, were from various countries, given to various trades and professions, but were under no vows of celibacy as is frequently the case with the orders of other churches. We feel, therefore, that even at this late day it is fitting that their names should be recorded in Church Hisory. They were as follows:—

Simon Christoph Meyer, Director, born 1719, died 1786; from Langensalza in Thuringia; a button maker. Came to America 1773; after having been ordained a Deacon at Barby, served as steward of the unmarried brethren at Christian Spring and Nazareth; buried at Bethlehem.

Philip Jacob Meyer, born 1722, in Würtemburg. While traveling as a journeyman shoemaker enlisted as a soldier; later in his wanderings came to Calmar, Upper Lusatia, where he was convert-

ed through the efforts of the Moravian Brethren. Thence he went to Basle and Herrnhaag, uniting with the latter congregation. In 1750, came to America with 29 unmarried brethren; lived in Bethlehem, Christian Spring and Nazareth. Said of him that he was possessed of "Ein Gutes, Seliges Herz," and was loved and honored. Died November 29, 1782; buried at Nazareth.

Matthew Hanke, born January 17, 1707, in Upper Silesia; received into the congregation at Herrnhut; in 1743 married and came to Bethlehem and in 1744 to Nazareth; twice married, buried at Nazareth.

Christian Ettwein, 1752-1798, born in London; came to Bethlehem with his parents, Bishop J. Ettwein and wife; later learned trade of stone mason; married Regina Zahm; buried at Bethlehem.

William Lister, born 1715, in Yorkshire, England, unmarried; Schneider Meister (Master Tailor) and Vorsteher in Nazareth Brethren's House; died September 10, 1807; 92 years old.

Gottfried Zahm (apprentice to William Lister, Master Tailor at Nazareth) was born in Bethlehem, May 10, 1753. He was unmarried; in 1779 went to Lititz as *Pfleger* (Spiritual Overseer) to the Single Brethren; a fine musician; ordained a Deacon of the Church a few months before his death, December 19, 1782; buried at Lititz.

Franz Seiffert, born December 16, 1728, in Grulich, Bohemia; Master Weaver; died July 1, 1795; unmarried; buried at Nazareth.

Joseph Demuth, born Fredericktown, Maryland, December 1, 1748; in 1760, came to Bethlehem, then to Nazareth; weaver under Franz Seiffert at Brethren's House; married Mary Magdalena Schnall, August 15, 1787, who died November 15, 1815; he died February 23, 1827.

Samuel Flex, born in Nazareth, January 30, 1751; unmarried man; weaver. On May 18, 1774, he with 14 unmarried men moved from the Brethren's House at Christian Spring to the new Brethren's House at Nazareth. He died October 1, 1784; buried at Nazareth.

John George Ohneberg, born December 19, 1751, on Island of St. Croix; son of George Ohneberg, missionary to West Indies; unmarried; died April 24, 1781; buried at Lititz.

John Reitz, apprentice to Frantz Seiffert, tailor; no record of birth or death.

Jacob Schneider, 1708-1777; from Würtemberg; soldier in Germany and Holland; led a checkered career; was converted and went about with a show case representing the Saviour's suffering in Gethsemane; he confessed himself "the greatest sinner of the Single Brethren's Choir, but the Saviour has had mercy upon me." Buried at Bethlehem.

Detlef Delfs, 1723-1795; born Emkendorf, Holstein; shoemaker and sick nurse; came to America on the "Irene" with Capt. Garrison in 1752 with a colony of 36 young men representing 16 different trades.

Christian Henry Beck, born Bethlehem, 1757, died 1843; son of the Rev. Henry Ferdinand Beck and wife; when 1½ years old placed in Nazareth nursery at Ephrata House; educated at Nazareth Hall; united with congregation in 1776; married Anna Christina Eyerly, September 26, 1790; for 20 years a member of the "Aufseher Collegium," buried at Nazareth.

Renatus Lembke, born Nazareth, 1757, died 1785; a hatter by trade, foreman of the hatters in the Brethren's House and a member of the Bethlehem Board of Trustees.

Joseph Kaske, son of George Kaske; born at Nazareth, Pa.

Daniel Oesterlein, born in Ulm, April 6, 1712, died 1786; came to America in 1739; married in 1746, Susanna E. Werner, who died in Bethlehem in 1803.

John Fred Beyer, came with a colony of 27 single men in 1753; died August 11, 1760; buried at Nazareth, Pa.

Abraham Boemper, 1705-1793, born at Hebron, Nassau, Germany; a silver smith; emigrated to Surinam, S. A., and assisted the missionaries there; twice married, second wife being Rachel Ysselsteyn; buried at Bethlehem.

John Henry Miller, 1702-1782; printer; from Waldeck, Germany. Came to America with Zinzendorf in 1741; set type for Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia; accompanied Zinzendorf in journey to Delaware Indians and returning to Europe established the first Moravian printing office at Marienborn and coming again

to Philadelphia, in 1751, established his own printing office, served the public and the church until 1780, but suffered many losses during the Revolution; last two years of his life were spent at Bethlehem; wife died 1779.

*George Wenceslaus Golkowsky,** born in Bobreck, Upper Silesia in 1725, died December 29, 1813; a noted colonial land surveyor and warden of the Nazareth Estates; unmarried; buried at Nazareth.

Jacob Frederick Schmidt, born Bethlehem, August 6, 1758, died December 1, 1834. Cook in the Brethren's House, Nazareth. Liberal in contributions to missions; taught boys and young men gratuitously in the evening; unmarried; buried at Nazareth.

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*George Golkowsky, the noted Colonial Surveyor and warden of the Nazareth Estates, occupied one room on the second floor of the Brethren's House, conducted morning and evening prayers. An iron bound chest in his room was filled with field notes, surveys, letters, receipts, etc., of value to the Moravian Church. This chest is commonly spoken of as "Old Gulley's Chest," and is on exhibition in the museum of the Whitefield House at Nazareth.

The Single Sisters of the Moravian Church in Nazareth, Pa.

By Clara A. Beck

The fragments of a diary, dated 1780, recently found among the Archives of the Moravian Historical Society in Nazareth, Pa., prove that the Single Sisters' Choir was important in the activities of "Old Nazareth" long before the dedication of the "New Home" in 1784, which still stands in the Hall Square, and is frequently spoken of as "The Castle."

In this diary we find a full list of the names of the "Single Sisters" who had been engaged in the work here, as well as many who were transferred from Bethlehem and Lititz to Nazareth.

The duties, interests and activities of the Sisters as recorded in the diaries of the Choir reflect vividly the social and spiritual motives of the times.

As in the case of the Single Brethren's Choir, the Single Sisters did not take the oath of celibacy, and many of them married, frequently by consent of the Church, which sometimes found among them most suitable wives of the missionaries.

It would be of interest to many to "look backward" and get a glimpse into several interesting events in their daily lives as portrayed in a few pages of their diaries.

"On June 27th, 1785, 6 Sisters helped in the harvest in Old Nazareth."

A few days later "Sister Lisel," Superintendent, visited them in the harvest and found them well and happy. August 5th, Anna Nitschmann became head Sister in the new room.

August 7th, Sister Susel spoke to the older girls and admonished them to behave themselves in a seemly manner and specially when out walking.

December 13th, no service tonight because of rain and ice.

December 15th, little Elizabeth Eyerle was born and baptized and Rachel Frevel went there to nurse.

December 16th, Betsy Rice and Salome Clewell started to make wax tapers, and also on the 19th, Brother Beck asked to have his daughter as helper in his home because his wife was sick.

December 14th, Susanna Arier, a mulatto girl, got sick, and grew weaker; she rejoiced to be soon with the Lord. The Sisters and older girls visited her and prayed Liturgies with her.

December 16th. This night Sister Leisle stayed with her. This brown sheep of the Saviour's flock was allowed to enter her eternal home.

December 19th, we brought her body to her last rest from the newly built *Funeral House.**

December 31st, the following moved into our house: Maria Witmer, Hannah Rös, Eleanor Just, Catherine Baden, from Bethlehem, Elizabeth Frey, from Lititz. Received into Choir of Older Girls, Anna Elizabeth Ruch, Jacobine Frida, Nicke Christ, Elizabeth Geirsch. The total membership of the Choir, in 1784, was made up of 37 communicant members, 2 candidates and 7 Older Girls, who were under a teaching Sister. In that year two sisters married, i. e., Maria Magdalene Rice and Catherine Elizabeth Lembke.

And thus year followed year, each day beginning and ending with "prayer and the singing of the Liturgy."

On January 3rd, 1786, it is noted that Jacob Weller, with the permission of the Conference, brought his daughter to *school,* of which Theodora Martin was teacher, but she had to board with Brother and Sister Owen Rice.

On January 6th, Susel asked Anna Maria Frey to marry Brother Jacob Eyerly.

On January 13th, is noted the wedding of Jacob Eyerly with Sister Anna Maria Frey.

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*It has been a matter of controversy for the last several years as to the location of the old Funeral House in Nazareth, but this item gives definite information regarding the fact that a Funeral House existed at this early date and later investigation shows that it was built directly back of the Nazareth Hall.

On April 18th, the diarist writes as follows: "Today Sister Liesel Leinbach had a birthday celebration and we sang several hymns for her and she had a Love-feast with the Supervising Sisters in which we remembered the goodness of the Lord, since Sis-Liesel has been with us the last half year in the Hall, i. e., Nazareth Hall, and then in the new house. To show that these sisters knew what an "after the war depression" meant, she further states: "Sometimes we were troubled for fear we would not have enough work, but so far the Lord has always provided and our trust is in Him."

In June, 1786, Dorsel Mack started to weave, and a note is made of the fact that the spun cotton was not acceptable and had to be returned to Philadelphia. The weaving done by the Sisters was unusually perfect, as the writer of this paper can testify, since she came into possession of a white bedspread of beautiful tufted design made in 1820 by the Sisters as a wedding gift to her grandmother, Elizabeth Jansen Beck.

One of the very interesting notes was made in the Diary, November 1st, 1786, when Sister Susel went to Gnadenthal to ask Elizabeth Weinland to marry Franz Clewell, a communicant member of Schoeneck. On November 6th, the Diary states, the "betrothal" of Betsy Weinland was announced and November 15th the Sisters held a special song service for her because the following day at 1:00 o'clock she married, thus entering the married people's choir.

On November 23rd, Sister Susel brought from Bethlehem the rolls, dishes and disks to make candles, and as Brother William Henry had furnished all the utensils, Sister Susel began making tapers for the candle light service.

The following is a list of the Moravian Sisters who entered the new house in 1784:—

Anna Bauer, born Usingen, Würtemberg, December 4, 1746; died July 31, 1834. Came to America in 1752 with her parents; united with the congregation at Emaus in 1762; moved to Nazareth in 1766; entered the new Sisters' House in 1784. Unmarried; buried at Nazareth.

Johanna Anna Boehmer, unmarried Sister, died of consumption; aged 60 yrs.; born at Nazareth; daughter of Martin and Anna

Margaret (Essig) Boehmer; died November 4, 1810; buried at Nazareth Cemetery.

Anna Maria Gold, born in Gnadenthal, July 15, 1753; single sister; died August 18, 1797; buried in Nazareth cemetery.

Anna Rosina Werner, born in Bethlehem, October 28, 1755; daughter of John William and Anna Maria (Shugarth) Werner. In 1763 moved with her parents to Lititz, uniting with that congregation; in 1780 moved into Nazareth Sister's House and in 1784 into new building.

Anna Maria Haller, born Muddy Creek, August 31, 1741; daughter of Henry and Anna Margaret Haller. Came to Bethlehem April 17, 1755, and was received into the congregation in 1758. In 1761 went to Lititz; in 1779 to Gnadenhuetten and then to Sisters' House at Nazareth. Died October 21st, 1824; buried in Nazareth cemetery.

Rosina Fritch, unmarried Sister, born July 12, 1763; died October 29, 1828; daughter of Henry and Margaret Fritsch; buried Nazareth cemetery.

Anna Maria Segner, unmarried Sister, born at Bethlehem, December 13, 1745, where her parents were on a visit from the West Indies. In 1780 moved to Nazareth and in 1784 into the new Sisters' House; died April 26, 1835.

Elizabeth Rice, unmarried Sister; daughter of Owen and Elizabeth Rice (Minister at Bethlehem); educated in Bethlehem Seminary. In 1780 went to Nazareth Sisters' House and became superintendent of the older girls, being received as an (acolyte); died February 25, 1828; buried Nazareth cemetery.

Dorothea Gold, unmarried Sister; daughter of George and Anna Maria Gold; born Old Nazareth, August 4, 1762; died November 2, 1827; buried in Nazareth cemetery.

Molly Edmunds, born Long Island, October 11, 1744; lived in Nazareth Hall with other Sisters; moved to new Sisters' House in 1784; died June same year; buried in Nazareth cemetery.

Johanna Miller, unmarried Sister, born Nazareth, July 27, 1752; died March 23, 1805; daughter of John Bernhard Miller who died in Bethlehem in 175-?; buried in Nazareth Cemetery.

Catharine Salome Sherer, unmarried Sister, born September 13, 1756, at Zweibruecken. Came as a child with parents to America; died August 22, 1836; buried in Nazareth cemetery.

Anna Rosine Micksh, born 1749; died 1803; born in Bethlehem; in 1780 she moved with other sisters to Nazareth, but returned in 1802 to live with her sister, Mrs. Warner; buried in Bethlehem.

Anna Maria Levering, 1752-1797; born in Nazareth; attended the boarding school and later taught.

Anna Rosana Christ, unmarried Sister; born in Friedensthal, April 3, 1752; daughter of Rudolph and Anna Christ; died July 3, 1837; mentally deranged in old age; removed to care of Brother and Sister Hanke in Ephratah; buried at Nazareth.

Anna Maria Frey, born Lititz, April 8, 1759; daughter of Henry Frey. In second year entered the nursery at Bethlehem; in 1784 removed to Sisters' House. Nazareth; in 1786 married Jacob Eyerly who died in 1800. They had two sons and three daughters. In 1804, married the widower Matthias Hanke and after living a time in Hope, N. J., returned to Nazareth; died November 16, 1837; buried at Nazareth.

Maria Rauschenberger, born 1739, died 1812; remained single; sewed in families; buried at Bethlehem.

Catharine Ernst, born in Bethlehem, April 9, 1771; a girl from Nazareth; in 1779 went to Emaus with her parents; 1783 returned to Nazareth and went into Sisters' House in 1784; died August 29, 1788; buried Nazareth.

Dorothea Anna Weinert, maiden name Unger; born 1720 in Schwabach; 1743 received into congregation at Hernhaag; 1743 married Christian Weinert. In company with 120 persons came to Pennsylvania, living in Nazareth; died December 7, 1787; buried at Nazareth.

Catharine Lembke, born 1721, died 1798; born in Stockholm, Sweden. Received as an acolyte in 1748; came to America in 1754 and married the Rev. Francis Christian Lembke, minister at Nazareth and Principal of Nazareth Hall, who died in 1785.

Anna Christina Eyerly, born Nazareth, January 27, 1764; received into the congregation in 1781; married, in 1790, to widower Christian Henry Beck, living in Chrstian Spring till 1800; buried at Nazareth; died November 21, 1833.

Susan Philipina Loesch, born in Tulpehocken, June 13, 1723, died November 28, 1790; daughter of Geo. Loesch, of Gersheim near Worms; married Nicholas Weinland, of Bethlehem, who died in 1777.

Anna Maria Segner, born in Bethlehem, December 13, 1745. In 1780 moved to Nazareth and in 1784 into new Sisters' House; died April 26, 1834.

Among those who entered the Sisters' House in 1784, concerning whom no information has been found, were: Anna Tannaberger, Magdalene Prizl, Elizabeth Shefer, Rosana Schmidt, Elizabeth Frey, Hanna Moore, Rosanna Frefel, Margaret Haest, Elizabeth Frefel, Rachael Frefel. Among the older girls were: Maria Moor, Maria Elizabeth Schmidt, Anna Elizabeth Lisher, Susanna Catharine Elizabeth Loesch m. Weinland, Rosana and Catharine Ernst, Elizabeth Leinbach.

Among authorities consulted were diaries kept by the Moravian Sisters, grave yard records, the History of Bethlehem; and for translations, we are indebted to Mrs. Margaret Marx.

Moravian Missions and Colonial Politics

By Albert G. Rau, Ph.D., L.H.D.

It is not enongh to dismiss questions concerning the politics of the Indians and the Colonies during the half century from 1737 to 1787 with a general statement of French or English affiliations. Certainly the conflicting interests of the two nations on this continent had much to do with the behavior of the Indians. But there were fundamental considerations on the sides both of the red men and of the white men that had no relation, or at least only contiguous relations, to the quarrels between England and France.

In the first place the Indians were at no time united in apposition to the white men. They were scattered rather thinly over the seaboard area below New York, where the Delaware and cognate tribes had been brought under the yoke of the Six Nations. The latter tribes were the only compact and coherent group on the Atlantic border, and even they were much less numerous than contemporary reports would suggest. What may have been the total population of the five tribes that migrated to the New York area after their bloody defeat by the Hurons and French in the early 17th century no one can tell. But the researches of Morgan lead us to believe that, at the height of their power, when they had subdued not only the Delawares and Susquehannahs, but also the Ohio, Virginia and Carolina Indians, and had combined with the Tuscararas forming the Six Nations, they represented not more than 17,000 men, women and children. And these, in their effort to maintain the control of their conquered foes, were scattered widely through the seaboard colonies as far south, at least, as Virginia, with a large number in Ohio. And their control was deeply resented by the Delawares and those like them who had occupied the coast line for years. It was this resentment at Iroquois' oversight as much as any other fact that allied the Delawares and the Shawnees with any group, as for example the French, that might be, at the moment, a means of lessening the burden of Iroquois' control.

It is not possible, either, flatly to assert that the Six Nations were always the friends of the English. It is true that in many political set-ups the New York tribes acted with the English. Sir

William Johnson's efforts to keep them as a friendly barrier between the colonies and Canada had been highly successful during the years of the war from 1744 to 1749. But in 1751 the death of Cassaganeeda left so much of doubt as to future possible alliances of the tribes that Conrad Weiser, in a report to the Pennsylvania Council, frankly surmises that the Iroquois can probably be no longer looked upon as English allies, a conjecture that in part becomes true when at least three of the six nations remained neutral during the French and Indian War, and four during the Revolution.

Nor was the situation less complicated as regards white relations on the seaboard. The Albany Conference at which the provisions of the peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were discussed by Commissioners of many of the colonies, had not solely been occupied with the possibilities of a taxation that might be acceptable to the colonists, and with an attempt to stem the increasing tendency of the Iroquois to trade with the French at Oswego. It was here that Virginia proposed the recognition of her Ohio settlement plan and requested the approval of Pennsylvania and New York, and, much more, the support and encouragement of the Iroquois. Encouragement was given, and Sir William Johnson gave promises of Iroquois protection against attack by those tribes that were presumed to be under the thumb of the Six Nations. This he did, relying upon the traditional attitude of these groups of red men and not knowing or believing that he could never make good his word in this respect. So far as the English Government was concerned, every encouragement was given to the Ohio Company to venture into western territory, for such settlement was a spread into French territory that might offer possible areas of English growth. And, too, it was an outlet for a Virginian population then suffering under a depression caused by the recent war and by the large absorption of English business by the East India Company. Credits in London for our southern planters which had, from 1700 to 1735, been constantly growing, began to shrink after 1740, and this made a new outlet for Virginia's people and capital a necessity.

It was in the midst of such a complicated mix-up of social forces that our Moravian ancestors projected the scheme of Christianizing the red men. And, if we may judge from the methods of the first ten years of their work, they did not do this without acquiring a fairly large and accurate mass of information concern-

ing the ramifications and resultant directions of these forces. In no other way can we explain the visits made by Zinzendorf to Shamokin and by Spangenberg, Cammerhof and others to the Long House at Onondaga, and their repeated use of Conrad Weiser as guide and mentor. It seems likely that, from the first, Zinzendorf knew that our work among the Delawares would be impossible without Iroquois sanction. And, since the Iroquois tongue was everywhere current coinage, the infinite pains taken by Zeisberger, Pyrlaeus, and others to acquire that vernacular is an evidence that, even though they could find no opportunity to preach the gospel to the Six Nations, they could still use the potential of that powerful group to reach the subject tribes.

When our earlier efforts in New York State among the Mohicans and Wampanoags were checked by the animosities engendered by the War of 1744, and when these converts were removed from New York to Bethlehem, the Moravian energy was directed to the Christianizing of the Delawares who were scattered in the valley of the Susquehanna in the region that went by the general name of Tioga. In carrying out this plan, in the midst of the tense situation that preceded the French and Indian War, the greatest difficulty that our missionaries encountered was the necessity of keeping control of a group of red people who, at heart, were resenting Iroquois insolence on one hand, and white encroachments on the Minsi area as the result of the Walking Purchase on the other. The story of their persistence and courage has been told many times and need not be repeated here. What we may note, however, is that in the accomplishment of their task they acquired a technique that was recognized by the administration of Pennsylvania as a valuable aid to the cause of government. The purpose of this paper, then, is to show in what way a Moravian missionary played a leader's part in saving the Colony for English rule. It is a part of the life work of Christian Frederick Post.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST, lay missionary of the Moravian Church to the Indians, was born in Corritz, East Prussia, about 1720. The names of his parents have not been recorded. He was a cabinet maker by training, but came under the influence of the Zinzendorf movement in 1742, as a young man, and came with the first Sea Congregation to Bethlehem.

His first work was as a member of a group of itinerants sent

to the various scattered German groups to bring about the union of those people in a Church Federation, a scheme dear to the heart of Zinzendorf. For this task Post was entirely unfitted, both by lack of training and by temperament. He was devoted, enthusiastic, emotional and energetic, but he lacked intellectual background, and was unacquainted with shades of German thought, and therefore a tactless and troublesome colleague in an itinerant team of workers.

In the next year he went with Pyrleaus, Mack and Senseman, to take charge of the Indian converts in the oblong between New York and Connecticut just east of Poughkeepsie. Here his sympathetic insight into Indian character and his rapid acquisition of the Mohican language made him very useful, and the mission prospered remarkably. Here, too, Post married Rachel, a Wampanoag, in a burst of enthusiasm, declaring that such a connection would assist the progress of his work. But the Indian Wars of 1744 made the settlers of New York and Connecticut suspicious of the Moravian workers. Accused as Papists and French sympathizers they were haled before the magistrates at Albany, the sheriff and deputies closed their school and chapel, and though finally acquitted, they were ordered out of the colony and warned not to return. Undoubtedly a part of the animus against the Oblong Mission was the result of the attitude of Johnson and the Iroquois. They had been made enthusiastic supporters of the English and therefore it was an easy step, though perhaps an unthinking one, to see in this effort of aliens something sinister and dangerous. So far as our mission work was concerned the affair evidently revealed to Spangenberg the very dominant position of the New York tribes and the necessity of cultivating their friendship. Therefore Zeisberger and Post were sent to the Iroquois country to live among the Six Nations and learn their language. Here again they were arrested by constables from Albany, taken to New York and imprisoned. After six weeks they were discharged and again ordered from the colony. This second conflict with colonial authority was, so far as appears from our account, not inspired by Indian politics, but was entirely a result of the persistence of the opposition sentiment engendered in the colonial mind by the wild fear of Papist machinations. There is a small probability, however, that the gradual growth of Mohawk opposition to the policies of the Long

House and of William Johnson, which, after 1751, became more pronounced and definite, may have had something to do with this second eviction of our people from Indian territory. It was during the time that Zeisberger and Post lived in his lodges at Canajoharie that Chief Hendrick was killed at Lake George and that William Johnson nearly lost his life through a bullet wound in the leg. After the battle against the French, and while Johnson was lying at point of death for a time, surrounded by the Senecas, the Mohawks had sullenly retreated to their station at the "Gate of the Long House." So a conjecture may be hazarded that the authorities of the Colony might not have learned of the presence of the missionaries in the cabins of the Senecas had not the guardians of the gate begun to exhibit their recalcitrance in matters of Long House policy.

In 1747 the Indian wife of Post died and was buried at Bethlehem. During the next year he married Agnes, a Delaware convert, and took up residence in the Wyoming Valley, as a frontier mission scout, on the banks of the Susquehanna near Wyaloosing. Unquestionably the failure to maintain contact with the tribes in New York made this residence within the outpost territory under control of Queen Esther Montour and her son John Shikellemy a shrewd move, for it put our workers among the Delawares while it gave them the protection of the Senecas. Here he maintained contact with the Indians for two years, living almost entirely after their habits. His wife died in 1751, and Post, having carried her body to Bethlehem, for burial, left for London to join the first mission to Labrador. Here again misfortune overtook his party. They were set upon by natives, several, including the sailors of their vessel, were murdered, while the survivors had to man the vessel in order to escape danger.

In 1754 Post again occupied his cabin in Wyoming, striving, by his intimate acquaintance with the Indians to counteract the threatened alliance with the French. In the interval of Post's absence from Pennsylvania there had been a marked change in Indian relations. The Iroquois were no longer united in their attitude toward the colonies. Madam Montour's death, as well as that of the Seneca Chief Cassaganeeda had loosened their hold on the subject tribes. The shifty diplomacy of Teedyuscundt had aroused a sentiment of unity among the Delawares and Shawnees, and the

incidents of the renewed struggle with the French for the Ohio territory made it possible for him to preach a crusade for the recovery of the Walking Purchase lands under plea of alliance with France.

In the Fall of 1755 Post hurried to Bethlehem to warn the colony of the impending raids planned by Teedyuscundt and his Shawnee allies. The warning was too late, however, and a streak of blood and fire was drawn across the colony in November, before the defense organized by Benjamin Franklin could be made effective.

At a conference at Easton in 1756 it became evident that Teedyuscundt was talking about the French alliance as a blind. Using Sir William Johnson and Iroquois power, not yet quite impotent, as their driving force, the Pennsylvania authorities succeeded in persuading the wily Delaware Chief that his safer course would be a neutrality that was not too consistently unfriendly to the English. Here was breathed into his ear for the first time the whisper of a hope that Delaware union and independence were possible in the Ohio area when French authority would be removed from it. Of course, if Sir William Johnson was responsible for this intimation, it was double dealing in some senses, for seven years before, at Albany, he had promised the Ohio Company the protection of the Six Nations in their venture into this French area.

In June, 1758, at the request of the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania, Post and Charles Thompson met Teedyuscundt and other Indian chiefs in the Wyoming district and arranged for a later and more largely attended conference to be held on the Ohio River. At this conference the neutrality of the Delawares, and specifically of Teedyuscundt, was promised, and the clever Indian schemer promised absent treatment of his western allies in order to retain their position of non-interference in the white man's quarrel, provided that he and his people might thus obtain a comfortable home back of the Ohio River. From this moment this idea, carelessly put forward in 1756, became the cause of much misfortune and bloodshed, and at last, was the impulse that destroyed our work at Gnadenhuetten in Ohio, by its bloody reactions.

At the moment, the Forbes Expedition against the French at Duquesne was in preparation and if the French alliance with the

Indians could be broken, the French hold on western Pennsylvania would be made impossible. Therefore in July, 1758, again under order of the Council of Pennsylvania, Post and Isaac Stille proceeded by way of Wyoming and the northern border of the State to the Ohio River, where a conference with many Indians of the Delaware, Shawnee and allied tribes was held. The important results of this conference have been noticed by historians and the account may be read in the Pennsylvaia Archives, and in a pamphlet published in England some years later. But the inside history given by Post in a letter sent to Bethlehem vividly presents the precarious situation of the envoys for some days, through the clever duplicity of the French Commander. Post's patience, however, overcame Indian prejudice and the French abandoned Duquesne when they found that the envoys had persuaded the Indians to agree to an English alliance.

At this conference the promise of an Indian Empire figured as the bait and Post played it at the end of a line of wampum sent from Teedyuscundt. The many councils and their doubts turned upon a conflict between the older and the younger leaders of the Delawares, with the Seneca influence, as usual, thrown to the side of neutrality and the older chiefs. The French commander's trick was a pre-Bismarckian use of a garbled letter sent by Post to the Commissioners of Pennsylvania, captured by the enemy, and then used to accentuate the differences within the Indian ranks. When finally, wiser heads forced the original letter into the open conference, the French cause was lost, Fort Duquesne was abandoned, and passed, without bloodshed, into the hands of the Forbes army, some months later, literally handed over by Post.

What the work of Isaac Stille may have counted for in this affair we do not exactly know. What we do know, however, is that Post, in a report, makes complaint that his colleague "speaks both ways" and "makes trouble" in the negotiations. Now this may have been Post's way of exploiting his inability to work in double-harness. But there is a strong presumption that Stille was cautious as to future land promises and may have had some doubts as to the policy of these vague mortgages on the future in view of the situation of the Ohio Company. If so, he was right, and foresaw the difficulties that lay beneath the horizon.

Once more, if not twice, was this energetic Moravian used

as an envoy. In July, 1760, he met Teedyuscundt in the Wyoming Valley, under orders from the Governor of Pennsylvania, and made arrangements for another great council on the Ohio near Pittsburgh, at which Teedyuscundt hoped to lay the foundations of his Delaware empire. This meeting took place late in August, 1760, but there is no certainty that either the wily chieftain or the missionary were present. In the official report their names do not appear and the interpreter was Andrew Montour, the grandson of the great Seneca queen. Probably Six Nation diplomacy was still strong enough to prevent so dangerous a political set-up. Several of the whites who took part in this Council were not friendly to the idea of a Delaware empire, and were actively engaged in blocking it. Perhaps, too, the death of the Delaware Chief, presumably in a drunken sleep, may be connected with all of these under-cover forces, for it has always been conjectured that he really died at the hands of the Iroquois. His removal took out of the problem the only dominating factor, made Ohio anybody's country, blocked Delaware union, and threw Indian affairs into a complicated huddle from which they did not emerge for thirty years.

So far as the work of Moravian missions is concerned, all of these facts made the path of Zeisberger and his colleagues thorny and hard, and qualified their success with a certain amount of failure. But also it made them participants in the new struggle for a white Ohio and develops a story in which the great Moravian evangelist performed the same labors for the future of the infant country that Christian Frederick Post gave so ably for the colonies in the years when they were finding themselves. But that is a tale for another paper.

Post evidently was thoroughly convinced of the sincerity of colonial promises to the Indians. His work with them had made him, perhaps unduly, conscious of his influence, for it was during the darkest hours of this conclave that Post made arrangements for his next mission venture. Immediately after his reports to the Governor had been accepted, he drew into the Ohio country, near the present town of Bolivar, and gathered a group of Indian converts to begin a settlement. For a time he had the assistance of the youthful John Heckewelder. Later he made up his mind that he should proceed on his own responsibility to extend mission

work down the Ohio, and sent his young assistant to Bethlehem to beg David Zeisberger to leave Moravian service and embark with him upon this extended scheme. Zeisberger refused and in 1762 Post left the Moravian service and disappeared into the West. His eccentric and impatient habits of mind, however, gave him no rest even when he carried on his own plans, and 1764 found him, now married to a white woman, hard at work and alone among the Moskito Indians of eastern Nicaragua. In 1767, his wife having died, he visited Bethlehem once more. But great as were his abilities, the Moravian authorities did not wish to use him. Instead he was given a cordial letter of recommendation to the Protestant Episcopal Church and under this supervision, so far as he ever accepted such oversight, he returned to the Moskito shore. In 1784 he retired to Germantown, Pennsylvania, died during the following year and was buried in the "Lower Cemetery."

How different the history of Moravian Indian mission work would have been if David Zeisberger had gone into the scheme proposed by Post. It is fruitless to multiply conjectures on the "ifs" of history; but undoubtedly one group of facts does not belong to the domain of guesses. The struggle for the Ohio country was the real cause of the American Revolution. Had Zeisberger joined Post our Mission Indians would not have been a neutral defense when English incitements of the red men against the white invasion of the Ohio became dangerous. How Moravian Indians paid for this quiet piece of patriotism has been told again and again, and, as suggested above, the details of Zeisberger's contribution to the winning of the War must be told later.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

OCTOBER 20, 1932

The meeting was called to order in the Museum room, Whitefield House, at 11:15 A.M. Twenty-two members were present.

The Minutes of last annual meeting and the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved. The Treasurer rendered his annual financial statement which was approved and ordered placed on file. Abstract of the report follows:—

Cash on hand September 1, 1931	$ 973 56	
Receipts	876 29	
		$ 1,849 85
Disbursements		481 62
Balance on hand October 20, 1932		$ 1,368 23
Distributed as follows,		
Checking Account	$ 568 85	
Second National Bank, Interest Account	285 54	
Nazareth Nat. Bank & Trust Co., Int. Acct.	513 84	
		$ 1,368 23

The Secretary submitted his report, reviewing the activities of the past year, and read the names of those members who had died during the same period. He also gave a summary of the present membership, viz., 114 Life members, 217 Active members, 34 Associate members and 35 Exchanges; total, 400.

The Librarian, Bro. Shultz, reported 23 donations to the library, and 15 to the museum during the year. Sales of Transactions amounted to $135.45. This report was also approved. The Publication Committee reported that a new pamphlet was expected to be ready for the printer shortly. The Graveyard Committee was represented by Bro. F. H. Martin, who reported work progressing.

The Secretary reported bills amounting to $21.48, which were ordered paid. A bid was received from C. M. A. Frankhauser, Wyomissing, Pa., for a bronze tablet to cost $40.00 and to be placed on the boulder on the lawn of the Whitefield House. After some discussion, the entire matter was on motion properly passed and placed in the hands of the Executive Committee. The committe was given full power to act. Dr. Weinland stated that the wall around the Zeisberger Memorial at Goshen, Ohio, was not fully paid for, and requested a donation toward the liquidation of the shortage. On motion properly passed a donation of $25.00 was voted for the cause. Dr. de Schweinitz stated that he had received a copy of Bechler's "History of Moravian Medical Missions" for the library and also presented a reproduction of Pulaski's banner to the museum. The latter had been used in the commemoration recently at Baltimore of the 150th anniversary of Count Pulaski's death. The Librarian was requested to make proper acknowledgment of the banner. Dr. Schwarze then delivered the three volumes of Mueller's "History of the Unitas Fratrum," toward the publication of which our Society had made substantial donations in recent years. Bro. Shultz then presented bids for printing some pamphlets, supply of which has been exhausted. This was referred to the Executive Committee for action. On motion, the officers for the past year were re-elected, any vacancies to be filled by the Executive Committee. Officers for the ensuing year are therefore,—

President, W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.; *Vice-Presidents,* Paul deSchweinitz, D.D., S. H. Gapp, D.D., A. G. Rau, L.H.D., LL.D., Wm. H. Milchsack, Joseph E. Weinland, D.D., Archibald Johnston, M.E., E. S. Hagen, D.D., Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Miss Adelaide Fries, Litt.D., and Mrs. Elizabeth L. Myers, A.M.; *Secretary,* Wm. E. Henry; *Treasurer,* James S. Fry; *Librarian,* G. M. Shultz, A.M.; *Publication Committee,* W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., A. G. Rau, L.H.D., LL.D. and Harry J. Meyers. *Board of Managers,* Walter Crawford, Ph.G., Albert Brodhead, Richard O. Beitel and Wm. E. Henry. *Library Committee,* Miss Clara A. Beck, Theodore Kampmann, P. S. Meinert, M.A., W. E. Siegfried, Andrew G. Kern, Mrs. James S. Fry and Mrs. Margareta Marx. *Graveyard Committee,* Wm. H. Milchsack, Frank H. Martin and A. O. Sturgis.

On motion, the Treasurer was authorized to pay for services rendered: Secretary, $50.00; Treasurer, $50.00; Librarian $50.00, with an honorarium of $50.00 for special services. On motion, the meeting adjourned.

VESPER MEETING.

The vesper meeting was held in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, beginning at 1:35 P.M. About one hundred and sixty members and guests assembled about the tables. President Schwarze called the meeting to order and an appropriate hymn was sung. The repast over, the President read the names of the members who had been called to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., A. D. Thaeler, Harrison Desh, Eugene A. Rau, Mrs. Wm. H. Milchsack, Life members,—George F. Bahnsen, Wm. H. Strohmeier, Edward Stempel, Wm. A. Connolly, Orlando Desh, Albert Krause, Active Members, and the Rev. James Robinson, Associate Member. The company rose and sang the customary memorial stanza. The President then presented a Life Member of the Society, Mr. R. R. Hillman, of Buffalo, N. Y., who read an interesting paper on "Old Dansbury," (Stroudsburg, Pa.). The paper showed that much research had been made by the author in a peculiarly interesting field, and one largely untouched by other investigators. Bishop J. T. Hamilton also read an excellent account of the "Good Ship Irene," of early Moravian days,—a vessel mostly used to bring Moravian immigrants to America. The Hon. W. R. Coyle was presented and spoke briefly on the achievements of the Moravian Historical Society, and noted the timely interest now being taken in historical work in general. The Secretary reported that during the past year Miss Clara A. Ward, of New York, had joined the Society as a Life Member, Miss Elizabeth Bahnsen as an Active Member, and Miss Ruth Leh as an Associate Member. The Librarian gave a brief summary of the work of his department during the past year. Dr. Paul de Schweinitz, on request, gave an account of the celebration at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the massacre of the Moravian Indians at that place in 1782.

Adjournment followed the singing of a hymn.

W. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

OCTOBER 5, 1933

The meeting was called to order in the museum room, Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pa., at 11 A.M., with the President in the chair. Nineteen members were present.

Minutes of the Executive meeting of Sept. 26th were read and approved. Minutes of the annual meeting of 1932, having been approved at a previous meeting of the Executive Committee, a re-reading was not called for.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial report, of which the following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash on hand Oct. 20, 1932	$	1,368 23
Receipts		6,675 81
	$	8,044 04
Disbursements		7,436 96
Cash on hand Oct. 5, 1933	$	607 08
Distribution:		
Checking Account	$	25 95
Sec. Nat. Bank, Nazareth, Pa., Int. Acct.		67 29
Nazareth Nat. Bank, Int. Acct.		513 84
	$	607 08

On motion, the report was approved and ordered to be filed.

The Secretary reported the names of members deceased during the past year, and also the present status of the membership. The Librarian reported that people were visiting the library and museum in increasing numbers and were showing great interest in the exhibits. Thirty-eight donations were made to the library and nineteen to the museum, during the past year. On

motion, the report was approved and ordered to be placed on file.

The Graveyard Committee rendered no report.

The Publication Committee reported that the pamphlet to be issued this year was in the hands of the printer.

Miss Fries gave an interesting account of her visit, during the past summer, to Colonial Park, Savannah, Ga., and of the exercises commemorating the early settlement there. She stated that eleven of the early Moravian colonists lie buried there. She recommended that a stone bearing the names of the deceased be erected, the expense to be divided between the Wachovia Historical Society and our own. On motion, the Executive Committee was authorized to take such action on the subject as might be deemed expedient.

Election of officers for the ensuing year followed, resulting in the re-election of all the officers of the past year, viz.:

President, W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.; *Vice-Presidents,* Paul de Schweinitz, D.D., S. H. Gapp, D.D., A. G. Rau, L. H. D., LL.D., Wm. H. Milchsack, Joseph E. Weinland, D.D., Archibald Johnston, M.E., E. S. Hagen, D.D., Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Miss Adelaide Fries, Litt.D. and Mrs. Elizabeth Lehman Myers, A.M.; *Secretary,* Wm. E. Henry; *Treasurer,* James S. Fry; *Librarian,* G. M. Shultz, M.A.

Publication Committee, A. G. Rau, L.H.D., W. N. Schwarze, D.D., Harry J. Meyers.

Board of Managers, Walter Crawford, Ph.G., Albert Brodhead, Richard O. Beitel and Wm. E. Henry.

Library Committee, Miss Clara A. Beck, Theodore Kampmann, Paul S. Meinert, A.M., W. E. Siegfried, Andrew G. Kern, Mrs. Jas. S. Fry nad Mrs. Margareta Marx.

Graveyard Committee, Frank H. Martin, Wm. H. Milchsack and A. O. Sturgis.

On motion of Miss Fries, and duly seconded, the Treasurer was authorized to pay the salaries of the Librarian, $50.00, plus an honorarium of same amount for extra services; Secretary and Treasurer each $50.00 for the past year.

Adjournment.

VESPER MEETING.

After the trombone choir had rendered several selections, about one hundred and seventy-five members and guests gathered about the luncheon tables. The President called the meeting to order.

After the Vesper meal, the President read the names of the members who had departed to their eternal rest, during the past year, viz.: Miss Sophie L. Henry, Dr. J. Fred Wolle, Mrs. Emma Borhek, Warren A. Wilbur, Bishop Edwin C. Greider, the Rev. G. Harrison Lopp, the Rev. O. Eugene Moore, the Rev. Edward S. Wolle, Miss Laura French, Oliver L. Fehr, Mark T. Schwartz and Frank J. Seyfried.

The customary memorial stanza was sung, the company of members and guests standing.

A total of thirteen members were elected during the day.

The Secretary reported the present status of membership of the Society as follows:

Life	114
Active	219
Associate	34
Exchanges	35
Total	402

Dr. A. G. Rau was presented and gave an interesting and very informative talk on "Some Further Notes on Early Moravian Music in North America." He told of the compositions of John Frederick Peter, John Christian Till, Peter Wolle, John G. Herbst, Peter Ricksecker, Christian G. Hueffel and David M. Michael. He noted that the real musical growth of Moravian music in America began when John Frederick Peter came from Nazareth to Bethlehem in 1770. He was the composer of more than fifty anthems and wrote considerable instrumental music.

Miss Fries then gave an extended account of her attendance at the two hundredth anniversary celebration, at Savannah, of the settlement of Georgia. She spoke particularly of the fine pageant representing the early settlers and their activities and hardships in those days. She expressed herself as particularly pleased with

the marked interest and attention given the affair by an enthusiastic people.

Dr. Schwarze, also, presented the Hon. James Montgomery Beck, who spoke of some of his ancestors and the influence exerted by them on his life, to the delight of his audience. These remarks were a fitting climax to an enjoyable, instructive, and pleasant social meeting.

The Librarian, on the request of the President, then gave a synopsis of the report he had rendered at the morning business meeting. After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the President declared the meeting adjourned.

W. E. HENRY, *Secretary.*

In Memoriam

The Rev. Arthur D. Thaeler, D.D.

was born in Basseterre, St. Kitts, British West Indies, October 21, 1871. He died in New York, N. Y., July 20, 1932. He joined the Society in 1888 and served it, for a number of years, in the capacity of a Vice-President.

Harrison C. Desh

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., October 25, 1854. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., July 2, 1932. He joined the Society in 1882.

Eugene A. Rau

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., July 22, 1848. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., October 16, 1932. He joined the Society in 1869 and served it, for many years, as a Vice-President. He was always interested in promoting the objectives of the organization, contributed many items of value to its museum collection, and made it the beneficiary of a generous bequest that will help to further the aims of the Society.

Mrs. William H. Milchsack

was born in Lairg, Scotland, December 17, 1850. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., October 14, 1932. She joined the Society in 1920.

The Rev. George F. Bahnson

was born in Salem, North Carolina, September 16, 1854. He died in Nazareth, Penna., July 19, 1932. He joined the Society in 1887.

The Rev. William H. Strohmeier

was born in Spragueville, Monroe County, Penna., March 18, 1858. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., March 7, 1932. He joined the Society in 1907.

THE REV. EDWARD C. STEMPEL

was born in Oconomoc, Wisconsin, November 7, 1880. He died in New Dorp, Staten Island, N. Y., March 22, 1932. He joined the Society in 1920.

WILLIAM A. CONNOLLY

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., February 16, 1906. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., July 31, 1932. He joined the Society in 1910.

ORLANDO DESH

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., September 30, 1843. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., October 6, 1932. He joined the Society in 1887.

ALBERT KRAUSE

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., September 13, 1884. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., April 7, 1932. He joined the Society in 1910.

THE REV. JAMES ROBINSON, D.D.

was born in Carrowdore, Co. Down, Ireland, October 6, 1864. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., June 10, 1932. He joined the Society, as an associate member, in 1912.

MISS SOPHIE HENRY

was born in Bolton, near Nazareth, Penna., October 19, 1838. She died in Bolton, Penna., January 27, 1933. She joined the Society in 1865.

J. FREDERICK WOLLE, MUS.D.,

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., April 4, 1863. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., January 12, 1933. He joined the Society in 1883.

Mrs. Emma Borhek

was born in Friedensville, near Bethlehem, Penna., November 7, 1848. She died in Bethlehem, Penna., November 30, 1932. She joined the Society in 1894.

Warren A. Wilbur

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., May 1, 1859. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., January 15, 1932. He joined the Society, as an associate member, in 1892.

Bishop Edwin C. Greider, K.D.

was born in Hope, Indiana, October 26, 1857. He died in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, February 5, 1933. He joined the Society in 1894.

The Rev. G. Harrison Lopp

was born in West Salem, Illinois, April 29, 1870. He died in Nazareth, Penna., March 11, 1933. He joined the Society in 1923.

The Rev. O. Eugene Moore

was born in Schoeneck, near Nazareth, Penna., September 7, 1864. He died in Nazareth, Penna., December 31, 1932. He joined the Society in 1899.

The Rev. Edward S. Wolle

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., February 8, 1852. He died in Penney Farms, Florida, January 12, 1933. He joined the Society in 1880.

Miss Laura French

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., June 8, 1850. She died in Forty Fort, Penna., February 28, 1933. She joined the Society in 1892.

Oliver L. Fehr

was born in ————, March 14, 1841. He died in Easton, Penna., ————, 1932. He joined the Society, as an associate member, in 1904.

Mark T. Schwartz

was born in New Oxford, Penna., July 9, 1875. He died in Nazareth, Penna., December 20, 1932. He joined the Society in 1899.

Frank J. Seyfried

was born in Cherry Hill, near Nazareth, Penna., February 2, 1881. He died in Nazareth, Penna., November 12, 1932. He joined the Society, as an associate member, in 1931.

Town Regulations of Lititz, 1759

By Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D.

The congregation village or, as it was called, the "Economy" of Lititz, was founded upon a plan of Count Zinzendorf and the Vicarius Generalis of his religious projects in America, Augustus Spangenberg. Bethlehem and Nazareth had already been established as unities of compact economic interests. In the former, the "Pilgrim Congregation," the members were missionaries or in training for mission service; or were laboring for the support of those in active work among the Indians and the Negro slaves in the West Indies and Surinam. Nazareth, called the "Patriarchs' Plan," was composed of farmers who gathered their harvests for the same common purpose. In these joint centers of evangelistic activity the members lived in close quarters and, surrendering many individual rights, put the proceeds of their labors into a common treasury. Finding that not all of the emigrants who continued to arrive were fitted for the restrictions and self-denials of these communities, Zinzendorf and Spangenberg resolved to provide a third church settlement in Pennsylvania, founded on more liberal lines. In this community the congregation would be incorporated to conduct business affairs and individual possession of property and trade would be granted under church supervision.

Among several locations which were considered for this plan, Lititz was selected because John George Klein, who had been won over to Zinzendorf's cause by hearing him preach in the Lancaster Court House, December, 1742, offered to donate his entire farm in Warwick Township for the use of the church. This tract of land, which Klein had obtained from the Penns in three proprietary patents of 296 acres in 1741, 32 in 1747, and 182 in 1755, eventually amounted to 491 acres; for he sold 20 acres in 1752. The legal transfer of the property to the Unity of the Brethren was made August 20th, 1754. Klein was to receive an annuity of £70 during his life.

In October, 1754, Bishop Spangenberg organized the church council from the Moravians in Warwick Township. In 1756 word

was received from Count Zinzendorf in Saxony to name the new town in honor of the three hundredth anniversary of the year 1456, when King Podiebrad had befriended the persecuted brethren of the early church by granting them a refuge at his barony of Lititz in Bohemia.

The congregation, thus incorporated for religious and business purposes, proceeded to provide for all of the social and economic requirements. As a business organization it conducted several farms, a saw and grist mill, a general store, an apothecary's shop, a tavern, and a potash factory. Segregating the youth of the two sexes for religious, educational and vocational training into commodious buildings, known as the Brethren's and the Sisters' Houses, it required them to support themselves as separate Economies. Combining sustenance with vocational training, the Brethren's Economy gathered considerable business from the County with its shops, which fromed a quadrangle in the rear of the main building, and in which the trades of weaver, baker, nailsmith, hatter, chandler, carpenter, butcher, tailor and shoemaker were carried on. The Brethren's House also conducted a wool carding mill on Carter's Creek. As evidence of the broad business range of the Brethren's House Economy, there is a letter from "Baron" Stiegel, ironmaster and glassmaker at Elizabeth Furnace, six miles away, criticizing the Pfleger of the institution for delays in making boots, which he had ordered.

Similarly, to a lesser extent, the Sisters' House carried on trades in needlework, embroidery, hosiery and confectionery.

With 491 acres of Lancaster County's choice land under complete supervision and control, the authorities of the congregation, in 1759, drew up a set of "Preliminary Conditions or Town Regulations which every Person desiring to become an Inhabitant in the new Town or Village called Lititz—must agree strictly to observe." These regulations, covering as they do all human interests and affairs, social and economic, were composed with infinite care and thought for the temporal and immortal welfare of its members. They represent an experiment in organization and control of an idealized community life, which is of intense interest in the history of America. Who the authors of these regulations

were, we know not; but we can surmise that the practical mind of Spangenberg played an important part in their composition.

On August 7, 1759, according to the Congregation diary, "The residents of Lititz subscribed the Statutes as also their leases and bonds, after the form of these had received the assent of the King's Attorney."

The manuscript of these town regulations is in parallel columns, English and German. The signatures are in a similar column, parallel with one for the witnesses, whose names are opposite those of the signers. The literal copy of the English columns, with the leading nouns capitalized as in German, is as follows:—

Preliminary Conditions

or

Town-Regulations

Which every Person desiring to become an Inhabitant in the new Town or Village called Lititz situate in the Township of Warwick in the County of Lancaster in the Province of Pennsylvania, must agree strictly to observe & adhere to, viz.:

1. Forasmuch as the fundamental Plan & original Design of building the Congregation Village Lititz, is principally to establish a suitable Place where all Persons, belonging to the Brethren's Church or any Tropus or particular Branch thereof, living either in Town or on their Plantations, may have for themselves & Families a Cura Animarum & preservation from all dangerous and worldly Connections and their Consequences; which Care & Preservation & other spiritual Assistance they are sensible cannot be had in their present Places of abode; living either so mixt with other People of different Sentiment & Practice or Plantations too remote from our Churches & Congregation Houses: It therefore necessarily follows, that, strictly speaking, no Body can have leave to reside in this Village but such as belong to the Brethren's Church & those who earnestly desire to live a peaceable & quiet Life in all Godliness & Honesty, whereby they for themselves & their own Hearts may have Benefit; mutually build up each other; have the Word of God richly dwelling amongst them; train up their Children for our Sav'r; preserve their Sons and

Daughters for Him; become a Blessing & Advantage to the Province; a Pleasure to the Magistrates; & an Honor to our Sav'r.

2. A Second Reason for Building this Village is; that its Inhabitants in the Emergencies & Troubles of War (as has been the Case since the Year 1755) may be in a condition mutually to assist each Other, as well as generally to render the Difficulties incident to human Life more Supportable.

3. To the End this twofold Purpose may be fully attained, a Number of Brethren in Lititz, as a Committee of the Whole, (to be stil'd, *The Committee for the Management of Temporal Affairs*) are to be appointed to regulate & keep in good Order every Thing relating to the Village & its Inhabitants. The Elders & Wardens of the Congregation, as well as those of each respective Choir, for the Time being, are ordinarily to constitute a Part of the Committee.

4. Whoever has a Mind to remove to and establish himself in Lititz, must, above all Things, first lay before the said Committee a true & just State & Account of his temporal Circumstances, particularly of his Debts; if he has Wherewithal to discharge them, & the Time when; and, in Case it be required by the Committee, must pay them off before he can obtain Leave to build.

5. The Landlord or his Exec's &c gives each Settler in Lititz a Lease & he on his Part binds himself his Exec's & Adm'rs in a Bond of five hundred Pound Sterling Penalty to perform the Covenants contained in such Lease.

6. Every Inhabitant in Lititz, must as is meet and right, not only conduct himself in all Things agreeable to the Laws of the Province (for we will not be a disorderly People) but must likewise conform, without Exception, to all the Congregation & Village Regulations, which under the Direction of the Unitas Fratrum now or hereafter may be made.

7. Under this Head is to be reckon'd, first of all; that every Inhabitant of Lititz do own and acknowledge the Authority of the aforesaid Committee for temporal Concerns, & engage to act conformable to their Rules & Regulations; and upon any Differences arising between Neighbour & Neighbour, that they will refer the Matters in Dispute unto the aforesaid Committee as Arbitrators (as usual Thing in this Country) to settle them amicably; But

sho'd the Voices be equally divided on both Sides, then the President of the Committee as Umpire, at all Times decide the Matter in Question, whose Determination therein shall be binding to both Parties.

8. That not only lightminded, disorderly & needless Conversation; but also all Intercourse, between Persons of both Sexes, as well married as single, both within & without the Village, contrary to our avowed Choir Principles, be carefully avoided: on which Account every Master of a Family, having Children and Servants of both Sexes, must make such Disposition of their Houses, that all Soul-Damage & Offence may be prevented, & in Cases of that Nature to act subordinate to the Advice & Direction of the Committee.

9. That no Inhabitant follow any other Trade or Business, save that only which he follow'd at his Admission into the Village, unless he obtain the Consent & Approbation of the Committee for so doing.

10. That all Traffick be carried on with ready Money or Money's Worth, & that at a Word without cheapening. In general every Inhabitant of Lititz in Matters respecting Trade & Business is to govern himself according to the Prescription of the Committee; to the Intent, that the Interest & Welfare of every Individual there residing may be duly attended to & promoted.

11. That none either borrow or lend Money without the previous Knowledge & Consent of the Committee.

12. That no One give even a Nights Lodging, in his House, to any Person whatsoever, without having first acquainted the Committee thereof & obtained their or the Warden's Approbation. In like Manner, That no Inhabitant nor any belonging to him, by his Direction, undertake a Journey, either far or near without consulting the Warden thereupon.

13. That no Person presume to act in the Capacity of a Doctor, Surgeon, Empirick or Midwife. Nor on the other Hand shall any Inhabitant consult or advise, in medicinal & Chirurgical Concerns or in Matters of Midwifery, with any other Persons than those appointed & authorized by the Congregation, unless it be with the Privity & Consent of the Committee or the Wardens.

14. Further, that in as much as a Congregation Village must have many necessary Expences to defray, for the well ordering of the Whole or some particular Branch thereof e. g. Night-Watch, digging, making & maintaining Wells & Pumps, Provision against Fire & Irruption of the Savages &c &c. No Inhabitant therefore ought to withdraw his Hand, but cheerfully contribute, on such Occasions, his Proportion as shall be resolved on from Time by the Committee or Senatus to be composed of a Select Number of its Inhabitants .

15. All those who have leave to build Houses, must firmly agree to this; that neither they their Exec'rs nor Adm'rs have Power to sell, let, hire out or even give away their Houses, Lots & Improvements in Lititz, nor any part thereof, unless they have authority for so doing in Writing, from the Committee or from the Owner of the Soil or his Agents. Every House is to be build with Stone upon the appointed Spot of Ground, so long, deep & high as shall be prescribed. The Wall is to be two or three foot in the Ground & two Foot thick. The Chimneys & Fire-Walls shall be made strictly according to the Draft.

16. The Owner of the Soil pays the Quit Rent for the Land to the Proprietaries; but all other Taxes, now or hereafter to be laid by the Government on Persons Lots, Houses & Personal Estate, are to be defrayed by the Tenants & the Landlord indemnified against the same.

17. Nothing shall be taught or preach'd in Lititz, but what is conformable to the Gospel of Christ. Has any one an Opinion, peculiar to himself, such a Person may be indulged provided he seek not to propagate it.

18. It is expected, that on all Occasions when the Congregation is expressly convened each Person appear at the Time appointed.

19. No Difference shall subsist in Lititz longer than 8 days; nor shall any Complaint be lodged, unless within the Time aforesaid Limited, no Accommodation can be effected: In which Case, the Matter in Dispute shall then be laid before the Committee, & by them determined, in such wise, that a Decision be made & the Affair finally adjusted, the selfsame Day, between the Accuser

& Accused, that so Umbrage given may be immediately abolish'd, which is to be done at the Cost & Charge of the Person who in the Judgment of the Committee has been the Agressor.

20. No meetings without Light, shall be suffered on any Account whatsoever.

21. Whensoever the Congregation negotiates any Matters, by a Member of theirs, the whole Body is necessarily responsible; However his Authority for so doing must first have been subscrib'd by the Committee or the President & Clerk of tse same: Should any one nevertheless transact Affairs in the Name of the Congregation for which he had no such Commission, he shall answer for it according to Law & moreover forfeit thereby his Privilege of continuing in Lititz.

22. He that borrows shall repay at the appointed Time, unless he can make it appear, that it was not in his Power to keep his Word; in which Case another reasonable Time shall be fix'd & agreed on. He that lends to others shall set a Time when it is morally probable he may be paid again. No one shall bespeak a Thing that he knows he cannot pay for when he is to fetch it away.

23. No Dancing Matches, Taverning (except for the necessary Entertainment of Strangers & Travellers) Beer-Tapings, Feastings at Weddings, Christenings or Burials, Common Sports & Pastimes, nor the playing of the Children in the Streets, shall be so much as heard of amongst the Inhabitants. They that have Inclinations that Way bent cannot live at Lititz.

24. Those whose Time is engross'd by the Business of their respective Functions in the Congregation, & have not wherewithal to live upon, must be provided for by the Congregation, as Circumstances & Necessity require: otherwise every Inhabitant in Lititz must labour with his own Hands & eat his own Bread. They who by reason of Age, Sickness or Poverty are incapable of so doing, the Congregation will maintain, if so be they have no Relations, who according to Holy Writ ought to do it.

25. Should any Person by the all wise Providence of God be deprived of his Senses, he shall for God's Sake be mercifully treated and patiently born with & be committed to the care of

discreet Persons to be attended & nursed by them both as to Soul & Body. And if so be he is restored again no Mention shall be made of his former Situation in any wise.

26. Every Brother & every Sister shall be respected in the Offices they respectively bear in the Congregation; nor shall any presume to be disobedient to or oppose a Servant of the Congregation, or any one else, in the exercise of his Office.

27. Those to whom the Inspection over Houses, Wells, Fields, Roads & Taxes is committed, shall be assiduous in their Offices; should any Mistake or Fault happen on their Side, that None in such Case resist them, but rather that they lay the Affair before the Committee & leave it to their Determination.

28. The exclusive Privilege of setting up a Store, Apothecary's Shop & Tavern is reserved for the Benefit of the Congregation Village. Besides these no other Persons shall in any Sort meddle with Store or Shop-keeping or exercise the Business of an Apothecary; nor shall anyone else be allowed to keep a Publick House.

29. A Brother shall be appointed to receive all the Profits that accrue by the above Regulation or by any other Ways or Means, who shall make it his proper Business to keep just Accounts of his Receipts & Disbursements, & every Quarter, or oftener if required, lay them before the Committee; that so every Thing may be transacted honestly in the Sight of God & Man.

30. Whenever it happens that any one cannot be permitted to reside any longer in Lititz, the Committee with the Consent of the Elders & Bishops for the Time being who have Lititz under their Care & Direction, is then to notify the same in Writing & insist on his leaving the Place.

31. Nevertheless no Body, in such Case, shall loose the Benefit of their Improvem's: but shall be satisfied for the same in the Manner prescribed in the Lease.

32. Goods which are to be had in Lititz, shall not, without urgent necessity, be bought elsewhere.

33. To the End good Work may be made & the same may be sold for a right Price; there will be established a *Board of Masters,* who shall have the Superintendence of all the Trades

& Professions exercised & carried on in Lititz. In the Beginning however, the Committee may take charge upon them; when every Inhabitant in Lititz must strictly govern himself according to the Rules & Orders the Committee or Board aforesaid shall in that Respect ordain & Make.

34. All Fraud & over-reaching of one's Neighbour, likewise any premeditated Mischief done to the Woods, Fences, Fields, Fruit Trees &c. belonging to the Possessor of the Soil, shall be deemed infamous. As generally all other gross heathenish Sins, to wit, Whoreing & Wenching, Gluttony & Drunkenness, Cursing & Swearing, Lying & Cheating, Pilfering & Stealing, Quarreling & Fighting shall not even be heard of in Lititz. He that is guilty of the like cannot be suffered to continue there.

35. All Parents & Masters (whose Children, Servants, Maids or Prentices are under their own Roof) as well as those who have the Care of the Choir-Houses are to take especial Care that the People under their respective Charge, may be within at seasonable Hours, & all Night-Walks prevented. In general, Parents & Masters shall be accountable for their Children & Families, & when any of them misbehave or do amiss it shall be required at their Hand; unless they have given the Committee timely Information that one or another of their Household is intractable that so Measures may be taken to put a Stop to any consequent mischievous Effect, or else, if needs must, that the incorrigible transgressing Party may be turned away.

36. He that sees hears or comes to the Bottom of any Thing by which Danger & hurt to Soul or Body or otherwise offence & Scandal may, in any Sort, ensue or arise, either to the whole Place or any particular Brethren & Sisters or even to a single Person must by no means conceal it; but take the first opportunity with Prudence & Discretion, to reveal the Matter unto such Persons as of right sho'd be acquainted with it, e. g. the Elders & Wardens & such like Persons in the respective Choirs. Those who do not act in this Manner shall be looked upon as Accomplices.

37. Every Man must be circumspect & careful in Regard to Fire, & subject himself therein to such Rules as shall be established amongst us.

38. The Streets of the Village shall be kept Orderly & Clean by the circumjacent Housekeepers; who shall not throw or cause to be thrown out any Straw, Dung or other Filth, but shall carefully lay the Same behind their Houses in the Yards or Gardens. Nor shall any Tools & other Things of general Use or Value, be carelessly left lying about in publick Places.

39. Any Damage done to Wells, Ways, Houses or other Things of publick Nature, shall be repaired & made good at the Cost & Charge of the Person or Persons thro' whose Fault & Neglect the same happened.

40. No Body shall use & make free with a Thing belonging to his Neighbour, without having first obtained his Consent.

41. No Marriages shall be contracted or made without the Privity & Approbation of the Elders & ..... of the Congregation & Choirs. Nor shall any One attempt to promote or make secret Matches. He that is minded to act otherwise, whether it be by himself alone or in Conjunction with Others, forfeits his Right of being an Inhabitant of Lititz.

42. The Sick shall not be promiscuously attended & nursed, but according to the received Regulations of the Congregation.

43. No Journeyman, Prentice, Servant, Maid or Negro shall be received into any Family, without the Privity & Approbation of the Committee. And every Housekeeper shall put away all such as soon as they become Seducers.

44. It is quite necessary that every One makes his Last Will in due Season. The Committee can be consulted in that Respect, from Time to Time as occasion requires.

45. The Committee, under the Direction of the Elders & Bishops p. t., is to have the Superintendence of the foregoing Articles & Generally of the whole Village & its Inhabitants of what Rank & Condition soever.

These regulations cover all of finance, economy, property and trade, including estates and wills, quality of goods and profiteering. They provide for the apportionment of contributions for common projects and emergencies. They cover behavior, morals and all individual action, including travel and entertainment of guests. They cover employment of prentices and servants, con-

versation and personal opinions, pastime and recreations, personal differences, marriage, health, medical practice, nursing, poverty, old age and insanity. They provide for the business privileges of the incorporate body and for the physical character of the town and for anything that might happen within it. What executive body ever had a wider range of supervision and control than the Committee on Temporal Affairs of Lititz?

For at least sixty years these regulations were actively enforced. Practically all of the 45 articles are mentioned in the diaries of the Committee on Temporal Affairs and in the records of the Aufseher Collegium, which that controlling body was called after 1770.

Among the hundreds of the diary's entries, the majority of which deal with personal differences and backyard squabbles, a few are selected which indicate the prevailing spirit which was back of these regulations and the rigidity of their enforcement.

These entries, literally translated from the German, by Abraham R. Beck, read:

Dec. 1766. Tanneberg is beginning to devote himself to fruit raising. We do not like this. We fear that it will be a danger to his profession (organ building) and his children.

July 29, 1767. As so many young people assemble in the tavern on Sundays, and are beginning to be disorderly, Bro. Horn must be earnestly bidden to maintain the good character his house has hitherto had abroad, and by all means see that people do not get drunk, by getting too much to drink.

July 29, 1767. If Bro. Werner resigns as cooper to Heinrich Frey—teaching the latter something of the trade, as he has promised —for the purpose of taking up the business of Cupping & Bleeding, &c., then Bro. Horn (tavern) should leave the bleeding of strangers (guests) to Werner; and this Bro. Horn agrees to do.

Oct. 1767. When Bro. Payne has stocked his store (the Congregation store) with good and cheap wares ..... the brethren and sisters must be asked not to carry hard money out of the community.

Jan. 5, 1771. For the increase of business in our place it would be well if some other professions could be induced to come

here; for example, Dyer, Saddler, Hatter, Plasterer & Wagon Maker. But they should be competent because we are so near Lancaster.

Feb. 14, 1771. Resolved to examine the weights & Measures of the community annually. They might be incorrect without the knowledge of the owners.

Oct. 22, 1779. It was an unbrotherly stroke of business for Heinrich Rauch to charge two poor brethren £18 for their trusses, which he made in half a day.

June 15, 1780. During the resting-hour, at noon, young people came together in Cassler's Schabhaus (tanner's scraping house) to play games, for example, fig-mill; this evil must be looked into and forbidden. (Swimming and skating were also forbidden, because of possible injury to souls. "What would the dear Saviour think of such actions!" Brethren's House Diary.)

July 20, 1780. It would be a benefit to the village to plant trees along the streets; therefore it was ordered that a Baum-Schule (nursery) be started.

Nov. 23, 1780. When the Fire Inspectors make their rounds they must everywhere remind people of the danger there is in cats lying near the fire-place, where they like to be.

Jan. 1, 1781. As the dogs of Bro. Danz & Bro. Geitner are said to have torn sheep, lately, in our neighborhoods they must be done away with.

June 29, 1781. We learn that two English prisoners, here in town, have been roughly—one can say inhumanly—treated by some of our people a few days ago. This is not only reprehensible conduct but it cannot possibly be tolerated. The guilty ones must be reprimanded.

Sept. 19, 1781. Bro. Klotz complains that Bro. Rauch sells snuff, which the latter must be forbidden to sell. At the same time Bro. Klotz must keep a good quality of snuff otherwise we cannot take his part. He must also have for sale, Rosin, Sulphur, Molasses, &c., which belong to his business so that, for the sake of his customers, we be not necessitated to keep these articles in the store.

Fire must never be carried from one house to another, or

across the street, except in a well protected iron or earthen pot. It would be much better if each household owned a feurzeug (tinder-box).

Nov. 1. It is found to be true that some of our young brethren went, last Sunday, into the woods shooting; and as we believe that Fertig's oldest son is the prime mover in this, Bro. Francke will try to induce his father to lock up the gun over Sunday.

Nov. 29. Married Br'n must be reminded that visiting by Single Sisters in the family houses is not permissible

Jan. 2, 1782. Considering the establishment here by the single brother, Christoph Pyrlaeus, of a book-bindery, with the sale of glass and house-painting, it will be best, we think, until we have a further understanding of the matter, to refuse it.

July 18, 1782. Bro. Sturgis (Joseph) of Lebanon, having received permission to locate here, as a potter, it was thought best that he build his house on the side of the street with the store and tavern (south side), because in case of a strong northwest wind the smoke and sparks from his oven will then be carried away from town.*

Aug. 15, 1782. Before Bro. Schank leaves Lititz he should appoint some one else to take his place as chimney sweep, and instruct him in the business.

The suggestion that a Brantwein Distillery and Beer Brewery would be an actual benefit to our town having frequently been made, and even by strangers, we recommend that the establishment of the former be taken into consideration. But as to the Beer Brewery, we believe that it had better not be attempted, because of the good Beer made in Lancaster, which it would not soon be easy to equal.**

Oct. 7, 1782. We cannot allow Bro. Rauch's claim that he alone should have the making of stove work, that is, tin pipes, doors. For the present he can support himself well enough making his augers.

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*This Joseph Sturgis, as a lad, escaped the massacre on the Mahony.

**Neither of these was started.

Mar. 26, 1783. Sam Tune who, having taken offence at the ill-words spoken against him by a son of one of our Warwick Brn., avenged himself by giving the latter a beating, was called before us, earnestly reprimanded, and the heinousness of his behavior brought home to him.

Nov. 7. In our opinion Claus Cölln charges too much for the coffins he makes; therefore it will be well to confer with him in the matter.

Dec. 29. As Bro. Hanke, our hotel keeper, has asked for advice what he is to do on Festival Days in regard to his customers, we answer that he must conform to the established regulation, namely, that on the Chief Festival Days, Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, no one (except in cases of necessity, or travelers) shall be served with drink until noon, after the meetings.

Jan. 16, 1793. Joseph Sturgis (Jr.) night watchman, wants to have a horn wherewith to announce the hours, because, he says, the frequency of calling them out is too hard on him. Collegium thought that before midnight he could go about quietly and unnoticed; and after that time continue as loud and as often as formerly, or instead of that sing a schriftlichen verse. A horn might be unpleasant for some of the neighbors. When there is a corpse in the Leichenkämmerchen he should "manchmal hinein sehen."

May 18, 1796. The church-spire should be looked after. The woodpeckers have already made so many holes in it that internal rot might result. Much complaint has come to us that children and youths go, daily, up and down the creek fishing, thereby treading down the grass in the meadows. Parents and masters must forbid this.

Oct. 17, 1808. Dorel Mack caused the congregation much provocation in that she wore mourning at Sister Hopson's funeral. Her excuse is that Mr. King (of Lancaster) wanted it so; but no one has a right to dictate contrary to our rules.

Nov. 1809. Members of the Collegium must see to it, as much as is possible, that the smoking of cigars by children and youths is stopped, about which parents and masters were recently spoken with.

July 4, 1811. Much offence was given to orderly people be-

sides to the Congregation by our young people who with music and shooting at the Spring, late into the evening, celebrated the Fourth of July.

Nov. 1818. Collegium expresses its opposition to double coffins; all unnecessary waste of money.

April, 1818. Three young brethren spoken to about associating with Sisters, &c., "und wie weit der umgang hit dem andern Geschlecht nach der Schrift gehen dürfe," &c.

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This idealized religious economy gradually underwent the changes inevitably caused by expanding American life. The Congregation Village had been a quiet eddy, sequestered along the bank of the great river, whose natural erosive force finally drew it into the common current.

By 1794 the Sisters' House Economy had developed into a school for outsiders. In 1817 the Brethren's House was discontinued as an institution. In 1819 John Beck's village school began to attract pupils from the outside, and soon the enrollment filled all of the family houses of the town with lodgers. The various business interests of the Congregation, one after the other, were gradually discontinued; until in 1855—after a century under the original charter—a new one was procured, lacking the business privileges of the first, and Lititz ceased to be an exclusive church settlement.

In the main, especially in the earlier years, the Economy had prospered. An entry from the diary of Jan. 4, 1764, shows that "At the day of appeal at Lancaster we presented a memorial against our excessive taxation. In consequence 2-3 of it were remitted & the whole of Lititz is hereafter to be taxed as one family." In 1779 there was a great rise in the price of provisions and labor, and a constant depreciation of paper currency. "Still," the diary says, "we have not only had sufficiency but have been able to give to others."

The records show, too, that many of the radical measures of the Town Regulations of 1759 were rigidly applied for a long period. As evidence of this is the fact that for fifty-nine years natural choice was denied a single brother who was seeking mar-

riage. Until 1818, the prospective bridegroom drew the name of his future wife, on a scroll enrolled within a goose quill cylinder, from one of a number of eligible sisters, selected by the authorities and handed to him, after a prayer, in half a cocoanut shell.*

* * * *

While the robins still carol at the sunrise Easter service as they did in 1759; beeswax candles still brighten the happy faces of children on Christmas Eve as they did in 1763, and the trombone choir still announces a death from the Church steeple as it always has done; the tinder box, the night watchman, the chimney sweep and much else, are now only memories of a quaintly picturesque past.

One thing alone remains as a daily reminder of the temporal affairs of yesteryear.

The entry of the Collegium diary of Feb. 20, 1788, reads:

"Is not the noon hour bell usually rung in other Congregations at 11:45? But we found it good to leave it as it is." In 1935, the "dinner bell," the village voice pulled from the Moravian Church steeple by the sexton, still rings out each weekday at the same minute of 11:30 the Collegium held to one hundred and forty-seven years ago.

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*John Beck, village Schoolmaster, was the first brother in Lititz to choose his wife. Abraham R. Beck remembered seeing the cocoanut shell and goose quills.

The Beginnings of the Moravian Church in Lancaster, Pa.

A Paper read before the Moravian Historical Society by the late Rev. J. Max Hark, D. D., pastor of that church.

Edited by G. M. Shultz, Librarian, M. H. S.

When Lancaster County was formed in 1729, all that splendid agricultural region now lying within the boundaries of Lancaster, Berks, Lebanon, York, Dauphin, Cumberland and Northumberland Counties was included. It was still virtually an unbroken "forest primeval," save where here and there a little group of log cabins about a trading post, or some rude tavern, had been built.

One such group clustered about Gibson's tavern, on a large plot of land owned by Andrew Hamilton, was the nucleus of the village of "Hickory Town,"—later to become the town of Lancaster. This was quite early in the eighteenth century. But before the middle of that century the little group of cabins had become a stage-town with some four hundred houses and a population of about two thousand people. The surrounding country was fast becoming peopled by thrifty Swiss Mennonite farmers, Huguenot families, Scotch-Irish, English Quakers, and many Germans from the Palatinate. These last, soon outnumbering the others, were destined to make Lancaster County the "Garden Spot of America." They found that Nature was lavish in her rewards for their labor. Yet one thing was lacking. They had no churches and no pastors. Their children were growing up churchless and godless. The more they prospered materially the more they felt their spiritual poverty. This very hunger and thirst for the gospel sometimes made them the dupes of religious charlatans. This, indeed, satisfied only too many. There were very many others who refused to be misled, and they longed and waited for spiritual comfort and guidance. Throughout the whole region there was a spiritual stirring, encouraged, if not caused by the visits, preaching and prayers of a few earnest and devout men like Henry Antes,—members of the Associated Brethren of the Skippack, and others.

For years the State church in Germany had been importuned in vain by the churchless provincials to send them worthy ministers.

The Rev. Augustus Spangenberg, on his return from Georgia, in 1736, spent some months on Wiegener's farm, where he became acquainted with the Associated Brethren of the Skippack, and from whom he learned of the sad religious condition of the Germans. He, therefore, with David Nitschmann, visited the region west of the Schuylkill, as far as Tulpehocken and the town of Lancaster, and saw the great need of the people. He at once communicated the case of Zinzendorf in a letter. In 1739 George Whitefield also asked Zinzendorf to send some German ministers to the province. Zinzendorf spoke to Dr. Ziegenhagen, in London, to whom, in vain, petition after petition had been sent from the province. Zinzendorf was told that no competent men were available at the time for America. Doubtless, partly in consequence of this, Zinzendorf, soon after his arrival in this country in December, 1741, visited Wiegener's farm and consulted with the Associated Brethren of the Skippack. Here he joyfully heard of Henry Antes' call for a meeting of all German Christians, which had been issued only shortly before, and which resulted in the First Pennsylvania Synod. This was held in Germantown on January 12th and 13th, 1742, and Zinzendorf's plan of a "Congregation of God in the Spirit," was adopted. This was intended to be a sort of Evangelical Alliance, including all denominations. The synod was composed of representative Lutherans, German Reformed, and virtually every other denomination in the province. This alliance was intended to bring order and peace out of the prevailing confusion by centering all attention on the essentials of Christian doctrine on which all could agree, and to supply reputable ministers wherever they were needed, without salary and without regard to denominational affiliations. The mass of awakened people everywhere hailed this plan with joy. They wanted nothing but the gospel, whether preached by Lutherans, Reformed, Moravian, Mennonites or others.

But the very enthusiasm with which this plan was hailed caused its eventual defeat. The authorities of the State Church in Europe heard how the people welcomed the preachers sent them,—perhaps most of them Moravians,—and saw in the Con-

gregation of God in the Spirit nothing but an attempt at proselyting and making Moravians of the Germans in Pennsylvania, a thing utterly foreign to the minds of Zinzendorf and the Brethren.

This should have been patent from the very fact that no Moravians were *made*, while many people were awakened and became better Christians. Ziegenhagen soon afterward found that it was not impossible to secure preachers for Pennsylvania. True, some self-appointed preachers diligently worked in opposition to the alliance and stirred up bitter feeling against the "Herrnhuter."

It was not until December 3, 1742, that Count Zinzendorf came to Lancaster, after a visit to Warwick, and received permission to preach in the Court House. His sermon made a deep impression and was much discussed; but it also aroused much suspicion and fear on the part of the strict sectarians.

In the Lutheran church there was schism of some years' standing which had occasioned much quarreling. The members were dissatisfied with Casper Stoever who occasionally preached for them. They wanted a resident pastor. Therefore, when Dr. Henry M. Muhlenberg was sent by Ziegenhagen to be the head of the Lutheran church in Pennsylvania in December, 1742, just a year after Zinzendorf's arrival in the province, and very soon after his preaching in Lancaster, he at once applied to the Archbishop in Sweden,—to quote his own words,—"to secure a pure Lutheran preacher according to the Holy Scriptures, the Augsburg Confession and the remaining Symbolical Books." As soon as possible Lawrence Thorstannsen Nyberg, a scholarly, earnest and eloquent young man, a graduate of the University of Upsala, was sent, in the summer of 1743, to be the first regular pastor of this important congregation, and incidentally, no doubt, to counteract the influence of Zinzendorf and the Pennsylvania Synods. He was received, Muhlenberg says, "like an angel from heaven;" but before a year had passed, he was regarded by the anti-alliance party in his church, as well as by Muhlenberg himself, as a deceiver, for it was soon perceived that his sympathies were with the "Congregation of God in the Spirit," A considerable number of his members thoroughly agreed with him, and approved of his action in preaching statedly in Warwick, where George Klein, who had been converted through Zinzendorf's preaching in the Lancaster

Court House, had given land for the erection of a log church. Klein was not yet a Moravian, and the church was dedicated by Nyberg, not as a Moravian church, but as a "free" or union church, under the plan of the Pennsylvania Synods. It was named St. James Church, because it was dedicated on the festival of St. James, July 25th, 1744. Meanwhile Nyberg in no wise neglected his Lutheran pastorate, and became very popular with all save the exclusive Lutheran party of his church, who resorted to slander, calumny and even violence to drive him from his post. This did not, however, prevent him from actively continuing to speak and work for the alliance, and, in March, 1745, from openly and boldly joining the Pennsylvania Synod, a step which led to violence and law-suits, and an attempt to keep him out of his pulpit by the faction opposed to him. Muhlenberg sided with these, and did all he could to discredit him, and even went so far as to attribute utterly unworthy motives to him in coming to Lancaster, and falsely accused him of deliberately conspiring with Spangenberg to bring over the entire body of Lutherans in Pennsylvania to the Moravians. To show to what lengths sectarian hatred may drive so able and good a man as Muhlenberg was, we need but to read what he said in an address at York:—"Inasmuch as Mr. Nyberg knew that Count von Zinzendorf was seeking to establish his affairs in Pennsylvania, he thought that by his call he would get into the right element. In the examination he had represented himself as a German Lutheran, and had no scruples in swearing to the Symbolical Books, although he had accepted the Zinzendorfian plan in his heart. In London he looked up Mr. Spangenberg and the Bohemian Brethren, and had himself received into their communion. Spangenberg and he, each by himself, journeyed on different vessels, and reached Pennsylvania as strangers to each other, in order that the Pennsylvanians might have no suspicions, but receive him as an orthodox minister. Both have narrated this to Mr. C. Weiser, in Tulpehocken, as a particular act of prudence on which they congratulated themselves. When Mr. Nyberg arrived in this country he was asked by Mr. Koch and myself whether he knew Count von Zinzendorf, his teachers and plans. He denied everything in toto, and said that he knew no one except Mr. Gradin in Sweden. He ridiculed the main doctrines of Law, Repentance,

Faith, Sanctification, Prayer, Resistance, etc. He mutilated the doctrine of Jesus Christ, his person, natures, office, etc., and when questioned concerning his association with the Moravians, he denied the same. At the same time he conducted a secret correspondence with them, visited their meetings, conferences etc. At last he took a Moravian sister to wife, and as he now proposed to draw in his net, a large Conference, in Lancaster, of Moravians from Bethlehem was brought about by secret correspondence. This happened in August, 1745."

Anything more absurdly false and malicious than these statements can scarcely be imagined. They need no refutation. The synod referred to by Muhlenberg was by no means "brought about by secret correspondence," but was called in the regular manner, and was an "Allgemeine" or union synod, attended by members of a number of different denominations. Nyberg and many of his adherents were members. It was held, not in August, but on November 27th and 28th, in the Court House which had been secured for the purpose—through Justice Smout, a friend of the Moravians, though not yet a member of the church. Indeed, there was only a mere handful of Moravians in Lancaster at the time, and these had been received as such at Bethlehem. It was at this synod that Spangenberg, while preaching in the Court House, was mobbed by a crowd of the anti-Nyberg faction, which gave rise to the tradition that among the mob which stoned the bishop was a justice of the peace, who, when the good bishop fell on his knees and offered up a prayer for his assailants, was so deeply touched by it that he threw away the stones he was about to cast, was converted then and there, and became a member of the Moravian Church. The facts on which this tradition is based are given in the "Lebenslauf" of Bro. Philip Thomas, who died a member of the church at the age of eighty-three years, in November, 1816.

He says,—"Already in my tenth year the evangelical testimony of the then Lutheran pastor, Nyberg, made a deep impression on my heart. When the Brethren soon after came into this region, and the people said, 'These are Herrnhuter, who ought to be driven out of town,'—I wanted a hand in it too. I gathered some stones, and with three companions went at night to the house where the sainted Bro. "Joseph" Spangenberg was staying. When through

a window I saw this man walk up and down, he appeared to me like an angel of God. I was frightened and threw my stones away. The following evening the Brethren assembled in the Court House, and I also went there with some other people, to see again the man who had made such an impression on me. When the rabble that had come together pelted Bro. Spangenberg with mud, and I heard him utter the words, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' I became convinced fully that the man must be a child of God, and I began to love the Brethren very much'." It was not, however, until 1749 that Philip Thomas joined the church, *going to Bethlehem* for the purpose.

The mobbing of Spangenberg recoiled on the foes of the Synod, and won many sympathizers and friends for the Moravians; while the Synod itself drew public attention to them and their work, so that they were encouraged, with the aid of the friends and adherents of pastor Nyberg, to begin the erection of a small church and thus avoid the strife and confusion of having the two factions meet together in the old Lutheran church.

By the next year the church was completed on the site of the present Moravian church, at the corner of Orange and Market Streets.

In the meantime Muhlenberg and the anti-Nyberg party had formally expelled Nyberg from his pastorate. So he became pastor of the Lutheran and Moravian congregation which worshipped in the little stone building, though he expressly stipulated that he should not be considered a Moravian. He and Jacob Lischy, minister of St. James church at Warwick, solemnly dedicated the building on St. Andrew's day, it being Advent Sunday, November 30th, 1746, and named it St. Andrew's church. It was not a Moravian church, nor, as has been said, was Nyberg a Moravian minister, nor in fact were the majority of the congregation Moravians. True, it contained within itself the nucleus of what was soon to become a distinctly Moravian church. It was as yet, as is expressly stated, to be "a free church in which every servant of Christ should be at liberty to preach."

Already in the spring of this year, however, the few Moravians in the town, besides attending the regular preaching in the

church, had begun to hold separate meetings for worship in private homes, and had opened a school which Bro. and Sr. Nixdorf taught, but whose chief object was the spiritual oversight and care of the awakened souls in the community. Nyberg continued to preach in the church until the summer of 1748, when he removed to Bethlehem, where he was received into the Moravian church on August 13th, of that year. In 1752 he returned to Europe. In October, soon after his departure from Lancaster, a petition of the Trustees of St. Andrew's,—Geo. Graff, Leonhard Bender, Michael Kraemer, Sebastian Graff, Peter Ganter, etc., was sent to Bethlehem asking for the appointment of a settled Moravian minister and the organization of a regular Moravian congregation in Lancaster, after several more families from the town had been received as communicant members at Bethlehem. Consequently early the next year Abraham Reinke, formerly a Swedish Lutheran, was sent as local pastor, and on February 8th, held the first Love-feast in the house where the Nixdorfs had their school. The list of those present, all Moravians or applicants for membership, was sent to Bethlehem as constituting the charter membership. Therefore, now for the first time there was an organized Moravian congregation in Lancaster, though it had as yet no church of its own. That St. Andrew's was not regarded as such is evident from the fact that the first communion was held on April 15th, not in the church, but in the home of Justice Smout, and also from the further fact that on November 13th of this same year the Brethren began to agitate the matter of building a "saal" or chapel of their own, with school-house and parsonage combined, as Bro. Reinke's diary tells us, viz:—

"In the evening, after Bro. Antes had held a service of song in the school-house, we held a right blessed and precious Love-feast with all the members thus far received here, of whom, including ourselves, Nixdorfs and Peter Brown, there are now twenty-nine. Among other things spoken of was the necessity of building a school-house here in Lancaster.

"All seemed favorably inclined and specially interested, and resolved to build it large enough, and to make the 'Saal' as large as the one at Bethlehem. It was also proposed to make every preparation therefor during this winter, so that by spring the work

can be at once commenced. Bro. Antes promised to aid with his counsel, and also to procure permission from the Governor to take the needed stones from the city lands. Our Bethlehem hearts (brethren) viewed three sites upon which the house might be erected,—the lots of Koch, Ganter and Matthew (Jung). The last which is ours by bequest from Matthew Jung, pleased them most, namely, behind the church, so that the front of the house should be on the alley."

Those acquainted with the circumstances and the leading spirits present at this meeting will not fail to read a good many things between the lines in this extract from the diary. The "dear hearts" from Bethlehem evidently exerted no little influence at the meeting. For, to say nothing of Bro. Nathaniel Seidel, the indefatigable missionary superintendent, was there ever a body of Brethren uninfluenced by Bishop Cammerhof's presence? And they both were present, the latter accompanied by his young wife. Zealous, sanguine, indefatigable, we may easily imagine his voice to have been one of the first and strongest to advocate the building of this chapel, and the making of it "large enough," even "as large as the one in Bethlehem." Scarcely less weighty among the Lancaster brethren undoubtedly was that of the beloved Bro. Nyberg, who was also present. Unquestionably he urgently seconded Cammerhof's recommendation boldly to go forward and build the "Gemeinhaus."

And so, no doubt, did Bro. Nixdorf, the school teacher who served with such manifest favor and blessing. That Henry Antes strongly favored it we know. He not only promised to have stones for the building donated by Governor Hamilton, but it was he who a week later sent from Bethlehem a draft he had made of the proposed new structure and its site, viz:—"On the alley near Bro. Smout's lot, yet so that the house shall stand back as far as the church does, and so have the house and the church face the alley in a straight line." This plan was adopted on December 9th. Indeed, the Brethren had worked themselves into such a state of eagerness that they were ready to adopt almost any reasonable plan only so that the building should be accomplished. Our chronicler says, "They are full of courage to build the house as soon as possible. They even dream of it at night, and have already heard

sweet music sounding therein, and witnessed the holding of a lovely synod within its walls." Their dreams were prophetic.

However, they were not hasty, but withal very deliberate and practical. Thus, on December 1st, at a Love-feast at which Bro. Rauch, of Lititz, presided, he brought forward for consideration this intended work, and announced that "every one who in his heart felt moved by the Saviour to contribute towards it should have permission to do so," but that it must be entirely voluntary, as it was a work undertaken for the Lord. And again on the 10th, the day after Bro. Antes' draft had been received, and immediately following the baptism of Geo. Graff's negro boy, a meeting of the male members was held at which each one subscribed the sum he would contribute toward the work, the total amounting to two hundred and two pounds Sterling, or about one thousand dollars. Three days later a Supervising Committee was elected, consisting of the Brn. John Graff and Marcus Jung, "because," we are naively informed, "no one better fitted is willing to serve." All this, however, was only preliminary and conditional. It is not until New Year's day of 1750, after word had come that Henry Antes had kept his promise and had succeeded in procuring the Governor's permission to take the necessary stone for building from the "city land," that they finally and formally resolved, at a meeting of male members, "to begin the erection of a parsonage and schoolhouse in the name of the Saviour; and to make the house 56 feet long and 36 feet wide." The Brn. Antes and Nyberg, of Bethlehem, and Bro. Leonhard Bender, of Lancaster, and Bro. Reinke, the pastor, were chosen trustees of the building. Next, formal notice was sent to the authorities at Bethlehem of the determination reached, with the request that they send on the final plan for the building as soon as possible. This was received on January 28th through Bro. Peter Maurer, and was at once adopted with slight modifications; and early the next day a beginning was made by digging for a well in the middle of the site for the building. This, however, was soon abandoned, because they struck rocks too soon, and a successful attempt was made farther back, under the present parsonage. At the same time the Brn. John Graff, Marcus Jung, and Leonhard Bender were appointed a Building Committee. The same day they made a contract with an English mason to finish

the outside walls of the chapel by the coming August, for "some 60 pounds," (sterling).

Let it not be imagined, however, that everything continued with such unanimous accord. From the time of the building of Noah's ark to the present day, objection, fault-finding and attempted hindrance have been used to discourage the establishment of the kingdom. First came a brother who thought that a building for a boarding-school was much more necessary, and to which he would have contributed gladly, but declined to give aught to the present one. Next the widowed sister, whose husband had bequeathed the lot to the congregation, made some objections. Finally another brother, of some means and influence, offered strong opposition on the ground that the proposed edifice was too pretentious,—the outcome of worldly pride, and unapostolic, "being altogether unlike the lowly Jesus;" that moreover, the Brethren had no business to give the matter so much into the hands of the Bethlehem Brethren, two of whom were Trustees, and who were merely trying to get the property into their possession, etc. Other obstacles also intervened, together with active opposition from several of the other denominations in the town, and much discouragement. However, the faith and zeal of the little band were not to be overcome. "We lay everything at the feet of the Lamb, He will see us through," wrote the diarist; and He did. But it was not until April 9th that the excavation of the cellar and about a week later, the laying of the foundations, were completed, and preparations were quietly made for the laying of the corner-stone.

This ceremony took place on April 17th, the Tuesday after Easter; nor can it be better described than in the quaint language of Bro. Reinke's diary:—"We had the men come together in the school-house, and read to them the inscription we intended to deposit in the corner-stone, which had been signed by John Graff, Michael Kraemer, Peter Ganter, Leonhard Bender and John Eberman. Then we went into the church together, where we meditated upon our Lamb as the Chief Corner-stone, elect and precious; after which we went out and surrounded the place whereon the house is to be built. After Bro. Rauch had repeated some appropriate verses, which we then sang together amid a specially blessed manifestation of grace, I deposited the inscription in the corner-

stone; whereupon Rauch, Nixdorf and I placed the corner-stone, and I stepped upon it and prayed to the Lamb in behalf of the building, and of the entire church which He will gather here in Lancaster for Himself. Our hearts grew very warm within us. Thereupon Rauch sang some more verses, and we closed with the words,—

Father and Mother and dearest Man,
Be ye honored by this plan.

We separated right joyously, and were grateful that we were able to transact this matter so pleasantly and in such blessed quiet, for no one but our own people knew anything of it, and although several others were attracted by the singing, yet they had scarcely arrived before the whole thing was over. Immediately afterward the corner-stone was securely fixed in its place."

The ill-suppressed exultation of good Bro. Reinke at the successful accomplishment of this transaction and its well maintained secrecy, are easily explained when we remember how bitter was the feeling of opposition prevalent in the time against the Moravian Brethren. Doubtless in those rude and boisterous days, had the public known of this corner-stone laying, the service, if not utterly prevented, would certainly have been greatly disturbed and interfered with by a mob of sectarian bigots, aided by the loafers and rowdies who are to be found everywhere, and are ever ready to abet and take part in deeds of violence. Indeed, if Bro. Reinke had been able to foresee all the results of the successful accomplishment of this corner-stone laying, he would have been probably even more openly exultant, for it marked an epoch in local Moravian history.

Whereas, heretofore public sentiment had been almost unanimously against the Brethren, we find that from this time on there was a great change for the better. Their courageous faith and hopeful perseverance,—"pluck," we should call it nowadays,—and the measure of success that was crowning their efforts in an undertaking which seems to have been regarded as something stupendous, appear to have strongly impressed the outside world, and won for them admiration and favor. Already on the day after the service our diarist quaintly records that two Brethren came to him and reported that "the people of the town, instead of their

former slanders, now begin to flatter us; but," he adds, "we counselled them to put no trust in this truce."

Other encouragements, too, now came to them. The Brethren at Warwick made up a party, and on the 23rd ten of them with five other friends and eight wagons, arrived on the scene, and for two whole days worked with might and main hauling stones for the building. "Ninety-four large loads of the finest stones," did they haul, and would have done more had more stones been quarried;—so that now 220 loads have been brought for the masons, and scarcely 100 more will be needed. "The townspeople are amazed," we are told, while the Brethren work with light hearts and grateful spirits. They labor as unto the Lord. Their work is genuine worship, so that, as is specially mentioned in the case of Bro. Melchior Schneider, "often while at work the Saviour reveals Himself so palpably that tears of joy stream from the eyes. Therefore it is that the work goes on so easily." It is noted, too, that the brother who had so strongly opposed the building as "unapostolic" is becoming more friendly; though it is not until he sees the chapel almost finished in spite of him that he so far relents as voluntarily to contribute five pounds to the work.

As the time neared for the completion of the stately building, the zeal of the brethren seemed to increase. September 27th had been fixed for the dedication, and to make sure that everything should be ready by that date, we find that on the 21st of the month twenty of the brethren joined the other laborers and pushed the work. Their efforts were not in vain. Everything was finished and in readiness when Thursday, September 27th dawned, "a particularly blessed day," Bro. Reinke calls it, "and one which will not easily be forgotten." It certainly was a very full day. The entire forenoon was occupied by a so-called "Speaking" preparatory to the Holy Communion. Bishop Cammerhof, who had arrived the evening before, and the pastor, held a searching conversation on spiritual matters, privately and separately, with each individual communicant member. In the afternoon at one o'clock the first service was held in the "Saal," at which one hundred and fifty Brethren and Sisters were present, including visitors from Warwick, Donegal (near Mt. Joy), Quitopehilla, (Hebron, now Lebanon), Earltown, Bethlehem, and from "beyond the Susque-

hanna." It was opened with several verses of the hymn

"Jesus' blood and righteousness,
Be of this house the beauteousness," etc.

followed by Bro. Cammerhof's praying the Lamb to take possession of this house and Saal, which was also right palpably fulfilled. Then an address was made on the combined texts for the day:—"He prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also He should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad." John 11:51, 52, and "Them also must I bring." John 10:16.

"Unto that clime,
Where through all time
No harm shall e'er come nigh 'em."

Thereupon followed a general Love-feast, and a "Quarter-hour," after which a special meeting of members was held in the Saal for the reception of several new members, among them being Conrad Schwartz and his wife, of whom it is noted that they "were the very first friends the Brethren had in Lancaster." It was done "with many tender tears," after a particularly fervent and heartfelt address by Bishop Cammerhof on the words of the allotted text for the day: "Blessed is the man whom Thou choosest, and causest to approach unto Thee, that he may dwell in Thy courts."—Ps. 45:4. "In concluding this service," is recorded, "we fell upon our knees, and with many tears and heart-penetrating emotions adored our Chief Elder who was so inexpressibly near us,—bade Him welcome among His flock, and in spirit kissed his nail-scarred hands." At four o'clock there was a Love-feast for the school children, during which they were told that partly for them this house had been built. At six o'clock the communicant members came together, and after a solemn "foot-washing for absolution," they received the sacrament of the Holy Communion for the first time in this room. There were thirty-seven who partook of this blessed feast, of whom twenty-three were members of this congregation, two were from Bethlehem, one from Quitopehilla, four from Warwick, two from Earltown, and five from beyond the Susquehanna. With this memorable feast the day ended.

From that day forward the Moravian Brethren's congregation at Lancaster was an established fact, and was so recognized. The

edifice which their enemies had ridiculed them for attempting to build, was completed. Their faith which had been derided as presumption and foolhardiness, was gloriously vindicated. The world no longer mocked, but wondered, that such a little handful of members should have been able to erect what was one of the largest and most substantial buildings devoted to church uses in the whole town. People could not understand it. But meanwhile the Brethren themselves went on the even tenor of their way, growing slowly in numbers, but steadily in influence and in the respect and favor of the entire community. Soon we find the names of some of the most prominent families, like that of William Henry, widely and favorably known as a patriot and manufacturer, and his son, John Joseph Henry, well known lawyer, and Judge of the Second Federal District Court of Pennsylvania, not only enrolled on the church books, but actively engaged in the work of the church.

Though this building was not designed to be a church, but only a chapel, with parsonage and school-house combined, we find that it was very often used instead of the church. It had a pipe-organ, built for it in 1765 by David Tanneberger, the noted Moravian pipe-organ builder in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The week day services were always held in the Saal, and not infrequently the Sunday services too, especially during the winter, when, as the old diary records in several places, the brick floors and stone walls of the old church were covered with a thick coating of ice School was held regularly until comparatively recent times, in spite of the inevitable interruptions occasioned by public executions on the gallows, or whippings at the whipping post, when not even the strict discipline of our fathers seemed adequate to keep the children from going with the crowd and making a holiday of it. Though Bro. Reinke, the humble, active pastor, whose energy did so much in bringing about its erection, never was permitted to occupy the building, having been called to Bethlehem just as he was preparing to move into it, all his successors reaped the fruits of his courage and enterprise.

It were interesting to trace the further history of the church in Lancaster,—to speak of those proud old days when Provincial Synods met here in the Saal, as they did in 1752, 1759 and 1762,

when its walls echoed the words of elequence and wisdom of Spangenberg, Peter Boehler, David Nitschmann, Nathaniel Seidel, Matthew Hehl, and indeed of most of those great and good men whose abilities, zeal and faithfulness helped to make the name of the "Unitas Fratrum," (Moravian Church), honored throughout the Christian world. Here, too, that gentle old missionary hero, John Heckewelder, more than once delighted the pupils of the school with his talks to them of his experiences among the Indians. Here David Zeisberger addressed our fathers and thrilled them with his own zeal and love for his "dear brown hearts;" and at least once there came with him that Knight errant of the mission field, Christian Frederick Post. That was in August, 1762, when a great Indian treaty was being negotiated in this town. Our two missionaries came at the head of no less than thirty of their own Indians, while three hundred more, from all parts of the Province, were gathered in an encampment on the hills just west of the stream that now flows beneath Water St., where the Philadelphia and Reading Railway now runs. Nightly they terrified the inhabitants by the hideous noise of their carousals, and one evening startled our little congregation exceedingly by appearing during the evening worship and filling the windows with their swarthy faces. "Some of them," our diarist observes, "had large knives in their hands."

So far "The Beginnings of Moravian Activity in Lancaster." From the time of the completion of their chapel the Moravian Church in Lancaster was *no longer a doubtful beginning, but a firmly established fact.* The old stone church, which had come into the unquestioned possession of the Brethren some years before, stood until 1820, and the next year was replaced by the present commodious edifice, while in 1890 the saal was restored, from being the janitor's dwelling, to its original use as a meeting place for the Sunday-school, for the week-day services of the congregation, and for social gatherings of all kinds.

Lancaster still "speaks well of the Moravians," and recognizes their church as one of the influential leaders in every good word and work in the city. Verily the hardships and sufferings endured during the rude days of the "Beginnings" were not in vain, but have brought their reward.

An Honest Effort to "Save Pennsylvania from the Moravians"

By Clara A. Beck (Genealogist)

When Dr. Schwarze invited me to prepare this paper, he suggested, that no doubt in connection with my research work, I might have come upon some subject which in one way or another, might have been related to Moravian Activity in Pennsylvania, concerning which no record had been preserved by the Church.

In reply to this invitation, I found opportunity to say that, since the Moravians were such excellent historians, and had written so exhaustively on all subjects pertaining to their work, it seemed to me that very little had been left to write about.

However, some years ago I began compiling material, to some extent traditional, intending at some time as opportunity offered, getting it into shape for publication. This opportunity came when the late Edward Matthews, (known as "The intensive historian"), was called away, and the editor of the publication to which he was a regular contributor, called upon me to enter into a contract as his successor in the work.

In reply to this invitation, I stated that I would be willing to accept the position made vacant by the death of Mr. Matthews, providing I would be permitted to write the story of the founding and development of Whitpain Township, Pa., in which township I had spent the greater part of my life, and had had full opportunity for gathering interesting data, statistical and traditional, concerning the most persevering and *influential opponent with whom the Moravian Church had been compelled to contend during Colonial days.*

Perhaps no religious organization in America invited less and received more attention from the public, than the early Moravian Church. This, of course, was owing to the fact that in its eagerness to work out its ideals, in the effort to persuade men of many religious minds, away from the dangerous subtleties of scholastic philosophy, and the superficial ethics which brought them into useless controversies, it carried its campaign into the very hot-bed

of Sectarianism. This lay in what is now a part of Montgomery County, Pa., including Frederick, Perkiomen, Lower Salford and Providence townships.

This district because of its topographical advantages, the rolling nature of the land, the free flowing streams with which it is watered and the protective forests around it, held a strong appeal for that class of colonists, whose thrift and industry yearned for the struggle which promised wealth and comfort, as well as the undisturbed enjoyment of a religion which craved the exclusiveness that was considered so essential to their happiness not only in this life, but also in the hope of a better life to come.

Thus it happened that between the years 1710-23 we find established here sects known as "Non-resistants," including Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkers and others, all of them under their chosen leaders having formed themselves into select communities. Beside these were the Evangelical, Lutheran and Reformed people, deriving their Ecclesiastical systems from the great national churches of Europe, with particular instructions from Halle and Amsterdam, to give special attention to the Germans of Pennsylvania, and hold them loyal to the traditions and confessions of their respective churches.

And then because this was "a free country" and men amid the solitude of nature found time to think, unrestricted by Church or State, from among these organizations were some who evolved religious theories of their own at variance with the doctrines of the non-resistants and Evangelicals" so that the latter spoke of them as "Separatists" while the general public, being interested only in their method of interpretation of Bible truths, (it being each man's privilege to read into scriptural passages whatever he was pleased to call his own personal convictions), named them "Disputants" and their organization "The Church of the Free Assembly."

Zinzendorf Arrives

Imagine then:—"Nicholas Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf, and Pottendorf, Lord of the Baronies of Freydeck, Schoeneck, Thurnstein and the Vale of Wachovia, Lord of the Manor, upper, middle and lower Berthelsdorf, Hereditary Warden of the Chase to his Imperial Roman Majesty in the Duchy of Austria

below Ems, Late Aulic and Justical Counsellor to His Majesty Augustus of Poland for the Electorate of Saxony," with his gift of diplomacy, his love of punctilious etiquette, banished from all the hereditary culture and elegance of his ancestral estates because of his altruistic ideals, throwing himself with his following into this field of contention with the hope of "Enthroning the Lamb" and bringing religious order out of irreligious chaos.

Then remember that the Germans of Pennsylvania having been warned that Zinzendorf's coming boded no good for the Churches were fore-armed against the "Inter-church movement" which he organized a month after his arrival in America, (Dec., 1741), and were in a mood to antagonize, disparage and defeat any project proposed by him as having behind it the motive of proselyting for the Moravian Church.

We have read the story of this movement from *three* sides, i. e., that of the historians of the Moravian, Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and find some interesting variations in their accounts of the proceedings of these "Synods," a brief synopsis of which gathered from the report of the *Reformed* historian, might be enlightening to those of us who have been taught to look at the matter from a different standpoint, thus affording us the opportunity of "Seeing oursel's as others see us."

Synopsis of the Inter-Church Movement—1741-42

The *first* meeting was called by Henry Antes and met in Germantown, Pa., and the historian takes pains to state that Antes being well known and well liked in the whole Province, there was a large attendance, about 100 in all, and that although 50 persons were willing to register, the only ones regularly chosen to *represent* their denominations were 4 delegates from the Seventh Day Dunkers of Ephrata. On this occasion Zinzendorf was openly criticised by one of the Separatists, and when he attempted to defend himself was attacked from another source: such was the result that "Many good people went away and refused to come again."

The *second* meeting was held at Falkner's Swamp, and at this meeting Zinzendorf was credited with trying to influence a doctrinal decision to the effect, that instead of directing the

poor inquirer for the way of life "in twelve different ways," only one should be chosen, and that presumably the *Moravian* way. Most of the "Sect" people, in order that they might escape such a contingency, now withdrew from the Synod.

The *third* monthly meeting was held at Oley, officers were elected and the organization completed. The services were made impressive by the baptism of three Mohican Indians, of course after the *Moravian* custom, "into the wounds of Jesus," and this method not being in keeping with the ideas entertained by the Mennonites, Schwenkfelders and Dunkers, those among them who as private individuals had still attended the Synods, now withdrew altogether.

This left the *fourth* monthly meeting in the hands of the Reformed, Lutheran and Moravian people. Zinzendorf commended the doctrinal position of the Lutheran Church at this meeting with more fervor than that of the Reformed, and broadly intimated that "If the latter were to unite with the former they might form a real Apostolic Church and absorb all the smaller sects, and the *Moravians*, seeing her dear brothers in one house, would be their faithful sister."

The *fifth* Synod, held in the Reformed Church in Germantown, revealed the attitude of the leaders of the movement to have been such, that according to the minutes of the day, "Pennsylvania was a complete Babel;" "to make confusion worse confounded," Zinzendorf now offered the Reformed people a new catechism revised to conform to the doctrinal basis of the Synod of Berne and as the Reformed people of Pennsylvania were strong adherents of the Amsterdam Classis, and under its control, this suggestion was bitterly resented.

The *May* meeting is said to have lacked enthusiasm and nothing of importance occurred, excepting that Zinzendorf who had become critical of all catechisms, now declared his intention of having one published for the Lutherans.

The *June* meeting, so the Reformed historian states, was the "Largest of all not because there was greater co-operation on the part of the churches, but because 56 Moravian Colonists had arrived in Philadelphia, and these with those who had been chosen as delegates from Bethlehem, Pa., (120 in all), attended in a

body, and the control of the Synods passed into the hands of the *Moravians* as they outnumbered all others." Moreover Zinzendorf now made a determined effort to bring about a division in the Reformed Church, insisting that the Church of Holland was teaching the unscriptural doctrine of Predestination.

And thereby hangs the story of the man who made "An Honest Effort to Save Pennsylvania from the Moravians." The extent of his influence was never fully known until recently when his letters preserved in the Classical Archives at Amsterdam, and the *Synodical* Archives at the Hague, were discovered by the late Henry Dotterer, who went abroad for data for "The History of the Perkiomen Region." These letters, lengthy and elaborate, were later copied by Dr. James I. Good, and incorporated in a Memorial Volume, edited by Dr. William J. Hinke, and published by the Classis of the Eastern Pennsylvania Synod of the Reformed Church in 1916.

This man, John Philip Boehm, known as "the militant preacher," of the Colonial period, was born in Hochstadt, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1683, and was the son of Philip Ludwig Boehm, pastor of that place. The son inherited his militancy from his father, whose pastoral career is said to have been "quite stormy;" in fact so much so that he never failed to reprimand his parishioners from the pulpit, indulging in personalities in the most reckless manner. This habit not being calculated to arouse a spirit of meekness and humility among his people, they in turn had him brought before the Burgess of the City, whenever his love of gunning led him to pursue game in defiance of law and order. Thus hailed he directed his diatribes against this officer, who retaliated by reporting him to the Supreme Ecclesiastic Judiciary of the Province. This body giving him instructions to attend to his duties more peaceably, was then accused from the pulpit of "encouraging heretics and heresy;" in desperation, they in turn reported his offences to the noblemen who were the patrons of the parish, and these gentlemen were in the habit of suspending him, transferring him to other parishes, and again, possibly because life at Hochstadt grew monotonous without the excitement brought about by his irritable temper, repeatedly recalling him.

His son, John Philip, was a schoolmaster at Worms before

coming to America, and had sustained on his own account a reputation for aggressiveness quite equal to that of his father, having at various times contested his right to the possession of certain perquisites to which as Parochial teacher he felt entitled. Failing to convince the Consistory of the justice of his claims, he had no hesitancy about appealing to the City Council, and it is said that there are numerous documents in the City Archives at Worms, showing that Boehm could make a spirited defence when attacked, and judging by the few cases cited which I have had the opportunity of reading, he not only proved the justice of his contentions but did so with a certain dignity.

John Philip Boehm comes to America

When Boehm came to America in 1720 with his family he bought land in Whitpain township, Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County, Pa., built a house (still standing) and lived there to the end of his life. Having brought with him testimonials from the Church in Worms, saying that for seven years he had served as schoolmaster and Choir leader, his position in the "New World" was to a certain extent assured. Such being the case he very soon at the urgent request of the settlers,—there being few pastors—assumed the duties of one, and this entirely without pay for a period of five years, during which time he baptized, administered communion and received into membership many persons. The validity of these acts being called into question, an appeal was sent to Holland asking for his ordination, and this having been granted, he gained the distinction of being the *first* to receive ordination in the Reformed Church in America, at which time he was 46 years of age.

His parish, therefore, already established when Zinzendorf and the Moravians arrived in Pennsylvania, reached from the Susquehanna to the Delaware Rivers, and from Philadelphia to the Blue Mountains. He travelled regularly 104 miles each month, mostly on horseback, through forests and across unbridged streams to remote clearings and lonely cabins, and became known as "The founder of churches," having ministered to 13 congregations, all of which he had organized.

He had not done this, however, without meeting opponents

and arousing a spirit of antagonism among his co-laborers in the ministry, and this mostly because of his loyalty to the Amsterdam Classis, the right of which body to control church affairs in Pennsylvania, he felt should be accepted and acknowledged by all Germans in this Province.

Imagine then the effect the inter-church movement of 1742 had upon Boehm, who found in Zinzendorf a powerful antagonist, one who fearlessly denounced the right of the Church of Holland to claim that "God did not wish to save all men," and one who had a "passion for souls" rather than doctrine. You can readily see the effect the attitude of these two men would have on the religious trend of Pennsylvania, in this its formative period.

Letters to Amsterdam

We might be at a loss to account for certain happenings in church circles at this time, were it not for the recently discovered letters written by Boehm to the Church in Holland; these letters condemn in no measured terms the Moravians, and "The cunning craftiness with which they sought to captivate the poor people with their soul destroying Herrnhutish ropes." The *Classis* is told about the Catechism which Bechtel had issued and which Benjamin Franklin had published and is informed that "Bechtel had only shot off the bullet which Zinzendorf had cast" and that "Certain essential doctrines were omitted, because "The Moravians did not wish to pray to God the Father, but only to the Saviour."

He also claimed that Zinzendorf was introducing unscriptural methods of administering the rite of Baptism, and proves his contention by citing a case, in which when the parents of the child wanted to uncover its head for baptism, Zinzendorf told them to open the dress in front and then baptized it on the breast "in the blood of Christ" at the same time saying "Sins should be washed away from the heart." Another child baptized at the same time being more than a year old, he laid hands upon it saying, that, "having passed the age of purest innocence it must be exorcised in the future through faith."

These charges against Zinzendorf and the Moravians were mild compared with some others which he brought to the attention of Classis in his letters, which bore not only his signature,

but also those of the elders and deacons of the six congregations he was then serving.

Fully aroused to the danger in which the people of Pennsylvania stood, the Church in Holland promptly rushed to the rescue by publishing two Dutch books against the heresies of the Moravians, in which they laid bare the "Corrupt Mysticism, Spiritism and Enthusiasms of the so-called Herrnhuters," and that moreover out of their "High German Hymn Book and other writings."

Boehm Writes a Book

Thus spurred on Boehm also issued a book against the Moravians, and this book was addressed to the "High German Evangelical Reformed Congregations and all their Members in Pennsylvania," warning them to "Guard themselves against the doctrine destructive of soul and subversive of conscience." This book which was printed in Philadelphia by A. Bradford, contained 96 pages of closely printed matter, and only one copy is known to exist, and that is in the possession of Dr. James I. Good.

Boehm Issues a Circular Letter

Boehm's second warning against the Moravians was issued in the form of a circular letter, and appeared a year later, in which he tells the people they had been careless about watching and praying, and "The Devil goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour," found it easy to lead such souls astray; a copy of this letter, containing 6¼ pages of small print was on sale in Philadelphia, Germantown, Falkner's Swamp, Oley, Tulpehocken,&c., and was doubtless well advertised by Boehm throughout his parish, which covered what now includes eight Counties, and then reached to the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

In a letter written to Classis in Amsterdam a little later he took occasion to complain that he was compelled to issue this pamphlet against the Moravians at his own expense, and his family had to suffer some on account of it, for "Each sheet cost 40 shillings to set up in type." This complaint is very amusing in view of the fact that Zinzendorf always referred to Boehm as "That rich plantation owner of Pennsylvania," and that an inventory of his estate a few years later, (on record in Philadelphia), shows

that he possessed three plantations, all under cultivation and beside these personal property amounting to 423 pounds.

But a grievance more serious to Boehm than the expense of issuing this circular letter of warning, was due to the fact that he was compelled to have it published in *English,* as the German printer excused himself, and therefore where there was one person who could read it there were twenty who would doubtless have been pleased to have done so had it not been printed, in to them, an "unknown tongue."

The German printer who found it inconvenient to accommodate Boehm, was Christopher Sauer, of Germantown, and his excuse was prompted by the fact, that having just printed the Moravian Hymn Book, entitled "Hirten Leider," for Zinzendorf, it would have been poor business policy to have accepted a contract against it from Boehm,—and so perhaps by a strange chance, it is more than probable(?) that the Moravian Church is largely indebted to Christopher Sauer for its *Survival in Pennsylvania.*

A few last words about Boehm: I think that in justice to him we are compelled to admit that, although mistakenly aggressive, he was absolutely sincere. If time permitted I might picture to you, (having been in close personal contact with the field of his labors), the pathos of the closing years of his ministry. I might tell you about the little Church he built, named after him, and I might tell you about the road he built from his home to this church, which road, like the one built to the home of Robert Louis Stevenson, by the natives of Samoa, might well have been called "The road to the loving heart." I might tell you the traditions of that church and in the light of its history show you the hereditary influences left behind him, which although generations have come and gone, still make his name loved and revered, in the little church known as "Boehm's Reformed Church of Whitpain." I might tell you how through the continuous marriage and intermarriage of the descendants of his people, they have become imbued with certain peculiar characteristics suggestive of Boehm and his teachings.

I might furnish you with thought for Psychological study in the very positive and differing temperaments of his own descendants some of whom became prominent as military men, some as

financiers, and still others as churchmen. However, we will bring but one more thing to your attention and that is, that although Boehm made "An Honest Effort to Save Pennsylvania from the Moravians," it seems like "the irony of fate," that he should have died suddenly while visiting his son, and that right on the threshold of the *Moravian* Church, (at Hellertown near Bethlehem). And further, when he was taken to Whitpain, Montgomery Co., Pa., to be laid to rest under the altar of the church he so loved, as no Reformed minister could be secured a *Mennonite* preacher of Skippack, Martin Kolb, preached the funeral sermon, and thus having fought the "Sects" all his life, Boehm at last was buried by a "Sect" preacher.

This paper was read before the Moravian Historical Society by Miss Beck, in 1920.

Autobiography of Bernhard Adam Grube

A translation from a manuscript in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pa.

By the Rt. Rev. J. T. Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

"What shall I, poor sinner, say at the end of my days, save 'Dear Saviour, I am too unworthy of all the favor and mercy which thou hast manifested towards me during my long life; throughout eternity I will thank thee for it'?"

The Brethren will doubtless expect a lengthy memoir from me; but I shall draw up something brief.

I was born June 21, 1715, at Walschleben, a village near Erfurth where the bodily father of the sainted brother John de Watteville was pastor for several years. With regard to my childhood, I can say little, except that in my ninth year I suffered from a bleeding of the nose which lasted seven hours, and might easily have brought on my end, had not my parents, who were greatly exercised, discovered means to staunch it. When I saw the wife of one of our neighbors, who was to lay me out in case of death, I thought, "Oh, my God, I cannot possibly die now; for I am not yet converted and have not a new heart." This desire to be thoroughly converted remained thoughtfully impressed during my childhood and the following years. I attended school with diligence, and learned to write well, so that the school-master was accustomed to have me copy off his reports. I also diligently wrote down the sermons and spent the Sundays in Bible reading. The pastor, who occasionally visited my parents, advised them to allow me to study. But for this they had no means. Yet he ever spoke to them about it, and said "God has means and ways to do it," and they should only commit their way to Him. He would help.

After long deliberation, they resolved to send me to the Seminary (Prediger Schule) at Erfurth, whither the father of Brother Johannes had been called several years before. This dear man took a special interest in me. When I came to the confessional and forgot the customary formula of confession, but wept greatly over my misery, he spoke very comfortably to me, and recommended me to the love of the Saviour. This so melted my heart,

that I did not know what was happening to me. And this took place as often as I came to this dear man, and I felt my heart so hard and cold; as soon as he spoke of the love of Jesus, it broke my heart. I ever kept before me the purpose to be completely converted; but I came into efforts at working out my own righteousness, and could not find the direct way to the Saviour. Thus it continued for some time. I read devotional books without finding the true foundation of salvation.

In the year 1736 my dear brother Johannes came with Peter Boehler to visit his father. They had me come to them and talked in a very heartfelt way, and wished that I would also visit them in Jena. This I did twice to the blessing of my heart. In externals, things went in a very difficult way with me. Therefore in my seventeenth year I began to instruct children, and also secured a position as a choir singer. With the means thus acquired I purchased books and clothing, for I could no longer expect anything from my parents. In my school-days I had been well acquainted with my dear Johannes for we attended the Gymnasium together, and the services of the church, and together wrote down the sermons. When we thought we had sufficient we discussed our conversion with one another. When this should have taken place he purposed to become a pastor and I his school-master. He would convert the adults and I the children, and when that had taken place, we would go together among the heathen, and convert them too. We rejoiced greatly in these plans, and desired with all our hearts that this might be fulfilled. If other scholars heard our conversation they made fun of us.

In 1737 I became a student, and in a few days entered the Grubische-haus, where the students alone lived."

(The following paragraph is abridged.)

Previously I had made an attempt to secure a school-master's position in the town of Sommerda at the desire of Rev. Mr. Langguth. But I prayed that I might not obtain it if it were the Lord's will; and I was glad to fail.

"I attended several lectures gratis, for my little money was soon spent. But I diligently attended opportunities for devotion, especially those of Christel's Oeconomie, and was brought into great perplexity because I had not yet found grace in the blood

of Jesus. At the end of 1737 I was dead with anxiety, and especially felt my unbelief so strongly that I was quite devoid of courage to say any other word to the Saviour, except,—"Dear Saviour, now it is high time that Thou takest pity on me; otherwise I shall be lost." What happened? On the last day of the year, in the evening, the Lord appeared before my poor anxious heart, and bestowed on me mercy and forgiveness of all my sins, so that my heart melted with joy, and tears of love fell. I was new-born, and could now believe in my Redeemer in childlike faith, and with joy gave Him my entire heart for His possession, and He filled it with His love, which has remained within me to this hour, with all my poverty of soul and transgressions.

Then I had a happy life until after Easter, 1738, when I entered Christel's Oeconomie, which had returned from Berlin, to be used in teaching. In the year 1738 I received a call to Livonia, but since I had not yet been received into the Gemeine, and was not to journey via Herrnhut, instructions came thence to Bro. John Nitschmann to receive me into the Haus-gemeine, which he did on January the tenth, 1739, at a Gemein-tag, in the presence of a large number of students, who were Brethren. The reception took place kneeling, with the imposition of hands and prayer, and was attended with extraordinary outpouring of impressions, by which I was overcome, so that it was "recht Pfingstagmaessig bei mir." I surrendered myself body and soul to the Lord, and desired nothing but to live for Him and serve Him. But my call to Livonia was superseded, and in 1739 I went with Christel's Oeconomie to Marienborn, and taught in the Boys' School in the orphanage, which was a congenial duty for me. When the Sainted Disciple returned from St. Thomas, I received another call to Reval in Livonia, and traveled with him to the Synod at Gotha, in order thence to resume my journey farther. Bro. Vieroth announced during Synod that he would be glad to have a pair of married couples, so my destination was changed to Heerendyk in Holland. After the Synod I visited my dear parents at Erfurth, who were greatly rejoiced thereby. They were both awakened, and belonged to the little band there. They had visited me at Jena a couple of times—to their blessing.

On June 29, 1740, I was ordained by the sainted Ordinarius,

with other brethren, as preachers in Holland, and arrived at Heerendyk on July 7th. I was given charge of the Beuning children, and commenced my duties "sunderhaft und bloede," and the Lord revealed Himself in mercy to me. After half a year I received a call to Amsterdam, and became tutor of the two sons of Dominie Denknatel. At the same time I dispensed the sacraments to the congregations in Heerendyk and Amsterdam, and was chaplain of the single men, several of whom belonged to the Gemeine. Almost every year I traveled with Bro. Denknatel, a dear, true and loved evangelical preacher, to visit his Mennonite congregations in North Holland, Texel and Friesland. He preached from place to place with much blessing—often twice a day. I thus became very well acquainted with the Mennonite preachers; and when I visited there alone, they invited me to preach in their churches. The first time this happened was in Akrum, where later a Brother from the Gemeine has attended to awakened souls.

In 1744, I visited Herrnhaag with Denknatel's sons, and spent some time in the Seminary at Lindheim, and enjoyed many experiences of heart-felt religion. Afterwards I entered Denknatel's sons into the College at Lindheim, and received the directorship of the Schreiberstube and afterward of the congregation school, which was a pleasant and congenial task for me.

On the journey from Holland, near Usingen, I broke my left hand, for we had a miserable open post-chaise, and I fell out as we drove down hill.

In August, 1746, I, for the first time visited the congregations at Herrnhut, Niesky, Neusalz, Urschkau and Gnadenberg, and by way of Herrnhut. Ebersdorf and Neudietendorf, returned to Wetteravia. In February, 1748, I received a call to Pennsylvania, and journeyed with the sainted Capt. Garrison thither. In London we found a company of Single Brethren, who had started a few weeks before us, and sailed with them. We were at sea for twelve weeks, and I was sick all the time. We encountered a tornado-like storm, and suffered from lack of water and provisions. But, if we had arrived eight days earlier, we should have been undoubtedly taken prisoners by a French privateer, which had been lying off Sandy Hook for three weeks, and had taken two ships. Three days before our arrival an English privateer arrived from

the West Indies with 180 men and captured the French with 300 men and two ships. Oh, how glad we were that we had had so long a voyage. On June 25th, to my joy, I arrived at our dear Bethlehem, and at first was given charge of Noble's two sons. Then I taught the boys who had been removed from Fredericktown school, and in the evening taught those boys and single brethren who were first learning to read and write. At the time of the visitation of John de Watteville, I was appointed to visit the Mennonites—which was not unattended with blessing.

After I had visited about seventy families, I returned to Bethlehem, and kept school, and visited the Indians in Gnadenhuetten, New England and other places, and felt a special love for them. On January 24, 1742, Bro. Joseph installed me at my first Indian post, Meniolagameka, beyond the Blue Mountains. After a few days I wanted to be of some use, and for the first time in my life undertook to hew down a small tree. But as I made the third stroke, I struck my left leg with the sharp axe and made a dangerous wound. I had to lie in a cold Indian hut for six weeks, and could not walk, but had to creep. In the night I could scarcely endure the cold, since I had only one blanket and lay on a board. I had to tie my pillow about my leg, and had a wooden bowl, turned upside down, for my pillow. That was my first test, which I endured with patience. After eight days Bro. Otto, from Bethlehem, came to visit me, and see my wound. At heart I was exceedingly satisfied, and rejoiced to be among a little band of believing Indians, for whom I kept a service daily, whilst I learned the Delaware. They manifested all love and friendliness. Most of them had been baptized at Bethlehem. In the spring, single brethren from Christian Spring and Bethlehem often visited me on Saturdays, and brought me some provisions.

After an enjoyable stay of half a year, I was succeeded by Bro. and Sr. Schmick, and went to Shamokin, where I remained a year and a quarter, several times visiting Wyoming, and baptizing an old woman in Shawnesetown, who had been converted during the visit of the sainted Disciple, (Zinzendorf).

I also visited the west branch of the Susquehanna, which was a very difficult and dangerous journey. Had God not warded it off, I should have been killed by several Shawnese. At Shamokin we

Brethren had a very laborious life, for the Indians came to the smithy from all parts, and were often drunk, and had their dances. Once thirty warriors remained thus for eight days, and took possession of our homes. After a laborious stay of a year and a quarter here, I traveled in 1753 to North Carolina with the first colony of the Brethren sent thither, and remained there well content until April, 1754. I was succeeded by Bro. Fries, and returned to Gnadenhuetten, to my beloved Indians.

On May 4, 1755, I was married to the widowed Sister Elizabeth Busse, by Bro. Peter Boehler, at Nazareth. After remaining in Bethlehem for half a year, we removed to Gnadenhuetten, and were there until November 24, when our Brethren on the Mahoning were massacred. We fled to Bethlehem with our Indian members, and there had charge of them. Since our Brethren at the "Upper Places" were also in danger, I went with a part of the Indian congregation to Gnadenthal, and set them as sentries at the "Upper Places," and visited them diligently. After the death of the sainted Bro. Benzien, I assumed charge of the services for the white brethren also. In the year 1758 our daughter Anna Joanna was born. After three months we received a call to Pachgatgoch, where we remained two years, and had many difficult matters to adjust. The Indian congregation was pretty numerous. The most trustworthy members cleaved to the Lord securely. Bro. and Sr. Martin Mack followed us, and we retired to Bethlehem, and placed our daughter, now in her third year, in the Nursery. In fourteen days we set out for Wechquetank, where a portion of the Indian congregation had settled. It was a fine little congregation, and we lived together in happiness until the alarms of war began again, when we were in constant danger from both white people and Indians, till it came to an extremity, and we received hasty orders from Bethlehem, to retire as quickly as possible—which we successfully managed, and next day arrived with the Indians at Nazareth, where we were received with much love. There too the Government declared that it had no power to protect us. We were therefore removed to Philadelphia, with the Nain congregation, and were quartered in the barracks. But the soldiers were angered and on guard against this, and we had to stand for seven hours, whilst a great mob gathered, and urged the soldiers

to cut us down. I earnestly prayed the Lord to protect us. At last, after taunts and jeers, we were brought by night to Province Island, and lodged in two houses as well as possible. But we had nothing to eat for three days, until Bro. David (Zeisberger) brought us something by water. I became sick, and my dear wife suffered from an attack of pleurisy and was near her end. I recovered soon, but my wife did not until near the end of the year, since we had to go a couple of times on the Delaware in boats.

At last the Government did not know what to do with us, and resolved to send us to General Johnson in the Mohican country. On the night of June 5th we came to Philadelphia, and arrived at the Brethren's Gemeinhaus, and after a painful farewell, resumed our journey. After a few days we arrived at Amboy, and were then to go by water to New York. But as I brought the blind and the lame of the company to the ship, Col. Robinson greeted me and said we had no permission from the Governor of New York to go thither, and could not undertake it except at great risk. So we had to return to Philadelphia. Both whilst coming and returning Bro. David Zeisberger and I held daily services and comforted our Indians in their distressful condition, with passages from the word of God. The services were sometimes held in ten places, since the Indians were separated among various shops and cellars. When we again arrived at the Philadelphia barracks we had quiet for a few days. Then the Paxton Boys once more raised their murderous cries, and we had rest neither day nor night. Meanwhile we were not greatly disturbed, but held our meetings daily, and the Gemeintag and the Lord's Supper every four weeks, which greatly strengthened our dear Indian Brethren. The Saviour had a rich harvest and garnered about sixty Indians into His eternal safety, in connection with a severe fever and the small-pox. Several departed to their Saviour with special joy. Bro. Schmick and my wife were also very sick, but I remained hearty and active.

After the Government had made peace with the most hostile Indians, our Sisters received permission to go to market with brooms and baskets, and in March, 1765, the happy day arrived when our dear Indians again received liberty to remove to their country—which occasioned great joy to them. I accompanied them to Nain, and remained with them for eight days. Meantime an

extraordinarily deep snow fell which also hindered the bad faction of the whites from falling upon us and destroying us, as they otherwise would have done.

I bade my dear Indian congregation a touching farewell, and with many tears, and thankful to my dear Saviour, who had so mercifully sustained me amongst my dear Indians at so many different posts, I commended them to the Saviour's mercy and future guidance. Afterward my wife and I spent a few weeks at Bethlehem. There we received a call to Lititz, ad interim, where however we remained for ten years, and were in charge of the Ehechor.

In 1776 my dear wife departed in the joy of the Lord, a deep affliction for me, after we had lived together for twenty-one years. She was a true help-mate to me and had much experience.

After being a widower for a year and a quarter, I married the widow, Sr. Eberhardt, m. n. Van Vleck, and again with her took charge of the Ehechor until we were released by the Denkas at the time of the visitation of Brother Johannes.

In 1780 I received a commission to visit the three Indian settlement-congregations on the Muskingum,—Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhuetten and Salem, at which time my dear Saviour revealed Himself graciously. After my return we went to Gnadenthal, but in a few months we received a call to Philadelphia. I suffered much from gout, but otherwise the post was agreeable to me. After a year we were relieved by Bro. Meder and took his place at Hope, (N. J.). I taught the Boys' school there at the same time, and found the duty quite congenial. After a year and a quarter there, we were relieved by Bro. Louis Boehler and wife, and returned to Bethlehem, where we remained for eight years. I was secretary of the Elders' Conference, and had a time of blessing to my heart. In 1790 we succeeded Bro. and Sr. Beck at Emmaus, ad interim. After a couple of years my dear Sarah departed to the joy of her Lord, and I remained three quarters of a year at Emmaus. Then Bro. and Sr. George Muller succeeded me.

I returned to Bethlehem, and entered upon my period of rest with shame and abasement in view of all the mercy which the Lord had shown me throughout my married life. After half a year I visited my dear children, Bro. and Sr. Beck, at Graceham, and

baptized a granddaughter, and after three weeks laid her to rest in the God's acre.

When I returned to Bethlehem, I was appointed chaplain of the widowers, an office which I held in weakness for twelve years. This I write on December 31, 1806, the anniversary of my day of grace sixty-eight years ago."

So far reads the autobiography. The diarist adds that Brother Grube ever religiously celebrated the day of his new birth as a day of special meditation and prayer and holy joy.

At the time of his death he was the oldest of all the ordained servants of the church. He generally enjoyed good health.

In the ninety-first year he walked from Bethlehem to Nazareth to visit relatives. He took great delight in the services of the church, and attended the sessions of the Conferences regularly, though the loss of his hearing was somewhat of a hindrance. Diligent in prayer, he was wont to intercede for the whole Unity.

In 1805 his powers began to fail. In view of this he considered himself fortunate when Sr. Schneckenberger was found willing to take care of him in every way. For a time he suffered from dropsy in the chest, but improved again. Thus he was able to attend the services once more, doing this on Christmas Day, 1807. After that he was shut in, but even now enjoyed the visits of his friends. Loving as he did to narrate the experiences of his long life, his conversation was pleasant and edifying. On March 19, 1808, he partook of the Lord's supper after the congregation. Next morning he expressed his great gratification that it had been possible. Then sinking rapidly, he departed this life between three and four o'clock, P.M., on the 20th, aged 92 years and 9 months.

The Visit of the Chiefs of the Six Nations to Nazareth, Pa.

Translated by James Henry, Esq.

On the evening of March 7th, 1792, a messenger made his appearence in Nazareth, bearing a letter addressed to William Henry from Mr. Kirkland, who for 21 years had been a preacher and missionary among the Indians living near Lake Oneida, in the state of New York, 200 miles distant from Nazareth.

He announced in this letter that he proposed stopping at Nazareth the following evening with 51 chiefs of the Six Nations, and other Indians under his care, accompanied by several whites who were all on their way to Philadelphia, and begged the hospitality of a night's quarters for the whole company.

A youthful generation had grown up since the disappearance of the Indian from our borders, and to this portion of us therefore he had become a tradition and many of us had never seen his living image, as the visits of the "sons of the forests" had ceased or at least were of rare occurrence, and to such of us the news just received was of great interest, and immediate preparations were made at the Nazareth Inn for their reception.

The morning of the 8th of March was marked by a heavy snow storm and in the midst of it the Indians made their appearance.

The company was preceded by Mr. Kirkland, Colonel Reed and five white gentlemen; after them came in *single file,* on foot the Indians, all at equal distances from each other, in grave and quiet order.

As the party proceeded through the village they directed their steps to the Nazareth Inn, where they were distributed into three chambers and an adjoining building under Mr. Kirkland's instruction, who seemed to exercise a paternal care over them; they formed divisions among themselves according to their several nations and some of the highest Chiefs lodged with the white gentlemen.

During the course of the evening many of the Moravian

Brethren came to see and welcome them and as far as lay in their power render little services to them.

This kind reception soon made them feel that they had fallen in with friends and reminded them of the many acts of hospitality they had formerly met with at the hands of the Quakers.

Several among them spoke the English language, among whom was Peter Jaquette, a Christian Indian, whom the Marquis de la Fayette had, after the Revolutionary War, taken with him to France and educated in several languages and improved by service. But after his return to this country, he reassumed the language and habits of his native tribe in preference to those of Europe.

This party of Indians was now on the way to the Council between the Government and Indian Tribes that was to convene in Philadelphia, and Jaquette had received a most emphatic appointment as Interpreter, both by the President and by Congress, but unfortunately soon after his arrival in the city he died and was interred there with military honors.

No sooner had our Indian guests at the Nazareth Inn, partaken of the ample refreshments provided for them, than they betook themselves to their night's repose upon their bear and deer skins, wrapping themselves in their woolen blankets, each with his bundle under his head, near the blazing chimney fire.

Early the next morning they were all found mending their clothes and shoes; the most of them were attired in a white linen shirt, a short cloth coat, Indian hose composed of a single piece of cloth wrapped around the ankle and bound with ribbon. They wore nicely fitted to their feet shoes made of deer skin, which they are accustomed when on the march to saturate with cold water, as a remedy against frozen feet. It is said this habit insures the Indian from ever having frost-bitten feet.

Some wore upon their coat sleeves or on their breasts, large silver plates, while others shone in various silver ornaments passing through the bridge of the nose, silver ear rings of great weight and considerable value; a large number exhibited eye brows and different portions of the face painted red, and the crown of the head was sprinkled with vermillon.

A belt or girdle around the waist contained a tomahawk, knife

and tobacco pouch; a number were provided with bows but only a couple of them carried guns.

Upon the whole their deportment and general appearance indicated peace and friendship, and all absence of warlike feeling. In their conduct and bearing they were modest and well bred, and for such a large body, the quiet behavior that characterized them was remarkable; with the exception of a few who had adopted the costume of the whites, they wore woolen mantles and on their heads caps formed of skins.

At this early hour before they sat down to breakfast, a number of the Moravian Brethren came and presented their red guests with tobacco and pipes, whereupon each one entered upon the enjoyment of the morning's pipe with great apparent enjoyment.

At nine o'clock they took their seats around the breakfast table, the meal consisting of bread and butter, cooked beef and boiled potatoes.

Before the meal the preacher held a meeting with the more spiritually minded Indians, and during the service they all sang a hymn together to the edification of all the spectators.

Several of the Chiefs breakfasted with the white gentlemen and two of them with Brother William Henry, over at his house.

During the repast at the Inn a great number of the Moravian Brethren, Sisters and children, as well as many strangers from the vicinity, came to see the Indian guests, and there seemed to be a general feeling of admiration for them, on account of their sedate manner and orderly conduct, and the evident pleasure shown in their countenances in the enjoyment of these good gifts of God.

The Moravian Congregation being desirous of showing some attention to their Indian friends, Brother Reichel proposed to Mr. Kirkland that they be conducted through the "Paedagogium" (Nazareth Hall), the Church, and the Sisters' House (now known as the Castle) and he promised to regale them during the entertainment with music.

His offer was gladly accepted. At 10 o'clock they marched up to the Square in the finest order, their preacher leading the way; they proceeded in single file until they reached the little Hall, where the inmates of the house were gathered to meet them.

Tobacco pipes, tobacco, apples and mint cakes were freely distributed among them.

The paintings on the wall, representing the Saviour's birth, sufferings and death attracted much attention, which was increased by our explaining their meaning to them.

Their preacher at the same time gave his own interpretation and some of the converted Indians, who to some extent understood the subject the paintings meant to describe, assisted in explaining them to their companions.

(Some of these paintings, by John Valentine Haidt, are still preserved in the Museum of the Moravian Historical Society in Nazareth, Pa.)

From the *little* hall, the Indians were taken to the large meeting hall, where there was a general assemblage of the pupils and the Moravian Brethren and Sisters of the village.

The musicians now performed a symphony on stringed and wind instruments; then the organ was played sending out all its full tones; this was followed by a performance of the musical choir, accompanied by the organ and all the instruments, singing in clearest tones that grand song, 'Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth and good will to men."

The preacher explained this text to the Indians, and then the congregation and children sang several verses out of the English hymn book, which Brother Reichel gave out, line by line.

By particular request several of the Christian Indians led by their preacher, then sang English verses; then four of them sang together, with much expression and very melodiously, to the delight and edification of the listeners. One of the verses was a well known one in our collection,—

"Jesus I love Thy charming name,
'Tis music to my ear."

Hereupon an old Oneida Chief, bearing the weight of 70 years, named Agulondongalas, known by the appellation of "Good Peter," stood up and made a speech.

He first thanked the Great Spirit, the father of all nations, who had guarded and protected them on their way hither. To the head people and all the other inhabitants of this place, he rendered most cordial thanks for the kind reception they had met

with at their hands, as the treatment they had received was not merely good, but was such as would only have been looked for from friends and brethren, so that they would never forget our kindness and their people at home should be made acquainted with all that had taken place here.

He testified to the pleasure they felt on witnessing our mode of life, and our forms of worship; and he came to the conclusion that we must possess the Gospel among us and that all its important truths and precepts were really practiced among us. To him it seemed as if the "Great Spirit" took a special delight in the people of our village and loved to dwell among us. He finally commended himself and Indian companions to our earnest prayers for the final success of their journey.

The whole address which was delivered in the Indian tongue, was fluent and animated and spoken in a tone which was highly agreeable to the ear. The name of Jesus was repeatedly heard among his utterances, and was pronounced with deep reverence, always laying his hand upon his breast; at frequent intervals his companions applauded his sentiments by an ejaculation.

When Agulondongalas had concluded his speech, Mr. Kirkland proceeded to translate its contents into English, and Brother Reichel replied in the name of the congregation.

He stated that we were all pleased to see our Indian friends in this place, and that an opportunity was granted to evince our love and appreciation towards them and it was a matter of great satisfaction to find such a large body of Christian Indians together who had accepted the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Who is the Saviour of all men, the Prince of Peace. He added that we would pray for the successful issue of their journey, and the business they were intent upon.

This address was in turn interpreted to the Indians in their own language by Mr. Kirkland.

Both the old Oneida Chief and his companions expressed their approbation in looks and deed. This scene was followed by a musical performance, to the increasing delight and enthusiasm of the Indians, many of whom arose and went toward the organ and orchestra in order to examine them more closely, as

they could not imagine how so many instruments would play so harmoniously at one and the same time.

"Good Peter" meanwhile went around among the children, and shook hands with each one separately; his example was imitated by a number of the Chiefs, who were surprised to see so many children gathered from various distant lands, being together in one institution.

This Oneida Chief, surnamed "Good Peter" on account of his numerous good qualities, his kindness and gift of eloquence, stood in high repute among his people. Mr. Kirkland testified to his true Christian conversion and the fidelity he evinced in his belief and constancy towards his Saviour. He always inculcated peaceful doctrines and warned his nation to adhere steadfastly to them.

The Oneidas on the whole are further advanced in civilization than other tribes, and their mode of life bears more resemblance to that of the whites than all others, as they are herdsmen and till the soil.

From the Chapel the Indians were conducted into the Sisters' House, where they were received by the Single Sisters and the small girls, with singing accompanied on the spinet.

Finally at noon, having been provided with four sleighs by the Moravian Brethren of Christian Springs, Gnadenthal and Old Nazareth, they pursued their way to Bethlehem.

"Good Peter" bade each one a final adieu by a hearty shake of the hand, and Peter Jaquette signalized his departure by a performance on his clarionette, which he played quite skillfully and often amused his own people by his musical performances.

We ourselves felt highly gratified to see them depart under such happy impressions, and our final good wishes for the success of their visit to Philadelphia, were joined with our last farewell.

NOTE.—This translation of the visit of the 51 Indian Chiefs to Nazareth, Pa., in 1792, is of great historic value and we are indebted to Mr. James Henry, whose thoughtfulness made it available to us through its translation into the English language, and placed it in care of the Moravian Historical Society; it forms part of the history of the Moravian Congregation in this town.

Students of the Pennsylvania Archives, will realize that these visits of the Indians to the Conventions in Philadelphia, at the call of Pres.

Washington and his Congress, were of vital importance to the welfare of the country.

We presume that their visit to Bethlehem, Pa., where they remained for three days before gong to Philadelphia was equally interesting, and no doubt full details of the event have been carefully preserved among the Archives there.

It might be of further interest to know that among the Chiefs, was the famous Indian warrior known as "Red Jacket," the great and eloquent speaker, as well as the Prince of the "Turtle Tribe;" Chief "Corn Planter," Chief "Big Tree," Chief "Farmer's Brother," Chief "Jaquett," Capt. Shanks, &c., &c.

While in Bethlehem they visited the Moravian Church, where they were addressed by Bishop Ettwein, to which "Red Jacket" responded; at the girl's school, one of the pupils made an address to the visitors, and "Good Peter" responded with an address to the young ladies.

On the 9th, the 51 Chiefs of "THE SIX NATIONS," with their friends, started in canoes on their journey down the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers to meet Washington, whom they called "The Chief of the 13 *fires*," referring of course to the 13 *Colonies*.

CLARA A. BECK.

Moravian Customs; Our Inheritance

FOUR LECTURES
delivered before the
WOMAN'S AUXILIARY
of the
Home Moravian Church
by
Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D.
October, 1933
to
February, 1934.

FIRST LECTURE.

Part I:—Our inheritance from the Early Christian Church.

It is with real pleasure that I come to bring you the story of some of our Moravian customs, of which I like to think as an inheritance, bequeathed to us by our forefathers in the faith as far back as the days of the Apostles themselves.

For some centuries after the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ there was one undivided Christian Church,—and that very name is an inheritance, for the followers of Christ were called *Christians* first at Antioch,[1] and the name has persisted for nineteen hundred years.

Of course our entire church idea is founded on the Gospel story as told in the New Testament, so it will be proper to give that wonderful Book the first place in our list, for dependence on the *Bible*[2] as the word of God came to be a special custom of the Moravian Church. The *Agapae,* the meal in common shared by members of the Early Church during Apostolic days, also comes into our story, as do the *Apostolic Succession,* and the Orders of our Ministry, of which more later.

One inheritance of which we are usually entirely unconscious is the arrangement of *readings from the Gospels and Epistles*[3] which we hear each Sunday morning in our church. You will find

the table on page 654 of our Church Hymnal, many of the days retaining their Latin names, given when these readings were selected as appropriate for the succeeding seasons of the Church Year:—Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Trinity Sunday.

The *Apostles' Creed* is another inheritance. It is so called because of a legend that each of the Apostles contributed a sentence. In its present form it came into use in the Roman Catholic Church about 500 A.D., and is probably a development of earlier forms of the confession of faith made by candidates for baptism. It was included in the first formal Confession of Faith of the Unitas Fratrum,[4] issued in Bohemia in 1468; and it was incorporated into our Church Litany in the American edition of 1876.

Of our Liturgies we may note especially the *Te Deum Laudamus,* which retains its Latin name, taken from the first three words of the Liturgy: "We praise Thee, oh God." This liturgy is said to have been used at the baptism of Saint Augustine in 387 A.D. but it is known that parts of it were used much earlier.

Our familiar *hymns* also tie us back across the centuries. Take, for example, hymn No. 60 in our Church Hymnal:

> Rejoice, our nature Christ assumes,
> Born of a virgin, lo, He comes.

This hymn was written by Bishop Ambrose of Milan, "the father of Latin hymnology," about 380 A.D.; the music was composed by Martin Luther, the great German Reformer, who lived from 1483 to 1546; the words were translated into English by our Moravian Bishop John Gambold, of England, who lived 1711-1771; and we sing it in our churches at Christmas, thinking of its meaning, but seldom conscious of its history.

Speaking of hymns:—you might like to have a list of hymns which are found in our Church Hymnal and are a direct inheritance from the Early Christian Church. The list is probably not complete, but it will serve our purpose, and incidentally suggest how much of interest may be found in the index to authors and composers found on pages 668 and 680 of our Hymnal. Some of the hymns are familiar, and all are of interest because of their age.

No. 886, by Clement of Alexandria, who wrote about 170 A.D., is the oldest Christian hymn known.

Shepherd of tender youth,
Guiding in love and truth
  Through devious ways;
Christ, our triumphant King,
We come Thy Name to sing,
And here our children bring
  To tell Thy praise.

No. 60, by Ambrose of Milan, has already been mentioned, and is the Christmas hymn:

Rejoice, our nature Christ assumes.

No. 763, by Augustine of Hippo:

Jerusalem, my happy home,
Name ever dear to me.

No. 241, by Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers:

Welcome, happy morning!
  Age to age shall say:
Hell today is vanquished;
  Heaven is won today.

No. 570, by Andrew of Jerusalem:

Christian, dost thou see them
  On the holy ground,
How the powers of evil
  Rage thy steps around?

No. 76, by Anatolius of Constantinople:

Fierce was the wild billow,
  Dark was the night,
Oars labored heavily,
  Foam glimmered white;
Trembled the mariners,
  Peril was nigh;
Then said the God of God:
  "Peace, it is I!"

No. 794, also by Anatolius, is a prayer:

The day is past and over;
All thanks, oh Lord, to Thee;
I pray Thee that offenceless
The hours of dark may be.
O Jesus, keep me in Thy sight,
And save me through the coming night.

No. 229, by John of Damascus:

The day of resurrection!
Earth, tell it out abroad;
The Passover of gladness,
The Passover of God.

All of these men wrote before 800 A.D.

It is a jump of fourteen hundred years from the days of the Apostles to the beginnings of our Church in Bohemia, and we will not attempt to describe it in detail. Beginning in Jerusalem the Gospel spread around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; and the Church developed from a persecuted group of the followers of the Lord Jesus into a powerful organization, with centers at Rome and Constantinople. Missionaries were sent to Spain and France and England; and with more effort and less speed the Christian religion penetrated into the heart of the continent, where the messengers could not make their way by boat, but must wearily tramp the miles.

Bohemia[5] was a small country, far in the interior, hemmed in by mountain ranges, and it was not until the middle of the ninth century that word of the new religion reached the inhabitants. Certain Bohemian noblemen, pagans of course, went to Germany on a visit, heard the Gospel there, and took news of it as they returned to their homes.[6] In 863 the King of Bohemia decided that Christianity would be a good thing for his people; but fearing the political influence of the Frankish nations to the west, he sent eastward to Constantinople, and two priests of the Greek Catholic Church, Cyril and Methodius, answered the call, coming as the first Christian Missionaries into Bohemia.[7] The two men possessed not only enthusiasm and consecration, but tact as well; and

as the years passed they won the support of the Czech inhabitants of Bohemia, and developed a Christian Church, with sermons preached in the Czech language, the Bible read in that language from translations which they had made, and young men in training for the priesthood in their own country.

As already intimated, the Early Christian Church had not remained undivided, but had split into two sections, the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic, with more than a little rivalry between the two branches. When the Pope at Rome heard of the success of Cyril and Methodius in Bohemia he could not bear to see the Greek Church claim that part of Europe, basing his resentment on the fact that the first word of Christianity had reached Bohemia through the Franks, who were affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. Far too shrewd to state his feeling openly, he sent a courteous invitation to Cyril and Methodius, asking them to visit him in Rome.[8] They accepted, and with many compliments on the work they had done he suggested that the See of Pannonia, which had fallen into decay, should be revived, that it should include Bohemia and the adjacent small kingdom of Moravia, and that it should be independent of both the Roman and the Greek Churches, standing directly under the Pope.[9] He further offered to consecrate Cyril and Methodius as Bishops; Cyril declined, but Methodius accepted, and returned to Bohemia as Archbishop of Pannonia. Cyril died on the journey, but the work in Bohemia prospered under Methodius, though a tendency soon developed toward Roman Catholic methods and customs. After the death of Methodius this became more pronounced, and in the course of years the Czech language was dropped in the church services, and all were conducted after the Roman Catholic manner and in the Latin tongue.[10]

The next five hundred years are distressing to consider, for temporal power, and the leadership of ungodly men in high places, brought many abuses into the so-called Christian Church.[11] We must not think of the Roman Catholic Church as being altogether bad, for there were many sincere and consecrated priests within the ranks of its ministry, but unscrupulous leaders did not hesitate to use their positions for the furtherance of their own ends. Printing had not yet been invented, Bibles were of necessity

copied by hand at great expense of time and labor. The common people were dependent upon the priests for knowledge of the Bible, and it was only too easy to read to a congregation what it seemed desirable for the members to know, and carefully suppress all the rest.[12] Few there were who dared to question this, and the first man to protest successfully was *John Hus,* whom we call the "father" of the Moravian Church.

John Hus,[13] as you know, was born and bred a Catholic; educated at the University of Prague; ordained to the Catholic priesthood. His great popularity as a preacher gave him a wonderful opportunity for public attack on the abuses which he saw in his Church, and which with all his heart he longed to see corrected. His efforts meant a martyr's death at the stake for him; but led in time to the organization of the *Unitas Fratrum,* which we commonly call *the Moravian Church.*

To John Hus the entire Christian Church owes the return to the *Bible as the rule of life,*[14] accepted by all Christians in the early days of the Church, but, as we have seen, not the custom of the perverted Church of Hus' time. On the Bible and its supreme authority John Hus based all his impassioned teachings. During his trial for heresy in the city of Constance the Church dignitaries demanded that he recant, and he challenged them to prove him wrong by the Bible. This they could not do, and John Hus died.

Another thing for which Hus fought was the giving of *the Cup*[15] to the congregation when celebrating the Lord's Supper. When the Supper was instituted, on that Thursday evening in the Passion Week, both Bread and Cup were given to the participants,[16] but the Church had taken the Cup from lay communicants, reserving it for the clergy only. After the martyrdom of Hus his followers, calling themselves Hussites, took up arms to secure what Hus had taught them was their right and privilege; and after sixteen years of bloody warfare they gained their point.[17] From that day Protestant Churches have given both Bread and Cup to lay communicants, but the Catholic Church still gives them the Bread only.

One more outstanding inheritance from the days of Hus is *congregational singing,* which is said to have been invented by

Hus while he was pastor of the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. Before that, choristers had done the singing, and choirs still do the major part in many churches, so when we make our Moravian churches ring with the congregational singing of some favorite hymn we are proving ourselves true heirs of Hus. One hymn, sung by the Hussites, and said to have been written by Hus for his own congregation, is still in use among us,—it is No. 1 in the Church Hymnal, and is characteristic of the main contention of Hus, and of the doctrine of the Moravian Church:

> The Word of God, which ne'er shall cease,
> Proclaims free pardon, grace and peace;
> Salvation shows in Christ alone;
> The perfect will of God makes known.

Part II: Our Inheritance from the Ancient Unitas Fratrum.

When the Hussite Wars were over earnest men and women began to consider what had been gained thereby,[18] and found that of all the Hus tenets only the use of the Cup by lay communicants had been secured. Apart from that the Utraquist Church differed little from the Catholic. That the doctrines and principles laid down in the Bible should be effective in the every-day life of every-day people was yet to be achieved, and a group within the new Utraquist Church began to make a serious study of that question. It was distinctly a lay movement, for Archbishop Rokycana gave them plenty of good advice but refused to risk his position by joining them. The leader of the group was Gregory, a nephew of Rokycana. I have recently seen a reference to Gregory which called him a "gray-haired, venerable man," but the de Schweinitz History[19] of the Unitas Fratrum says that he was fifty years of age when the Unity was organized, and I doubt whether any of us would care to be dubbed "venerable" at the age of fifty! Another authority says he was only about thirty-seven years old in 1547, so the title of "Gregory, the Patriarch," was doubtless bestowed upon him at a much later date, after he had led the Unity through its formative years.

At the suggestion of Rokycana, Gregory and his friends consulted with Peter of Chelcic,[20] a layman, whose independent thought and study, and his writings thereon, were attracting much

attention. Like Hus he insisted upon considering the Bible as the rule of life; but he also advocated refusal to take an oath, refusal to bear arms, and avoidance of the holding of civil office; also meek submission to persecution, without retaliation.[21] So far as the regard for the Bible is concerned he was another link in the chain from Apostolic days to the modern Moravian Church. His ideas concerning the oath, bearing of arms, and submission to persecution, had a great effect on the stand taken by the Ancient and Renewed Unity, though the modern Moravian Church no longer insists upon them. I do not know why Peter of Chelcic is seldom mentioned as one of the "fathers" of the Moravian Church, for though he died before organization was effected his ideas played a large part in the formulation of its tenets.

One important inheritance from Peter of Chelcic is the Moravian position concerning *explanation of the Lord's Supper*.[22] The RomanCatholic Church believed, and believes, in transubstantiation, that is, it believes that by the words of institution the bread and wine become the actual Body and Blood of Jesus. Peter of Chelcic "accepted the simple words of Scripture, and believed, on the one hand, that in the sacrament Christ's body is not born, not begotten and not created; yet, on the other, that God, by His power and through the words of institution spoken by the priest in faith, causes it to be spiritually present along with the substance of the bread." In other words, Peter of Chelcic took a position midway between that of the Catholic Church and that of the Taborites, the latter holding that the bread and wine were symbols, and symbols only. His influence is apparent in the action of the Synod of 1459 A.D., which formulated the tenet of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum thus:[23] "All who receive the sacrament in truth, believe and confess that it is the true body and blood of Christ, according to His word and mind, without adding anything, or taking away anything, and rejecting all human explanations." The next time you go to Communion notice the words of institution used, and you will see that there has been no change in this since 1459.

After full consideration, Gregory and his friends decided to settle together at some place where they might try out the possibility of living according to the Bible. The place selected was the

village of Kunwald.[24] near the castle of Lititz, an estate belonging to George Podiebrad, then Regent, later King of Bohemia. There they organized, quite simply, tradition says on March 1, 1757.[25] They received pastoral service from Michael Bradacius, a Catholic priest living near by, who was in sympathy with their plans. In addition, they established strict rules for their temporal and spiritual guidance, and that the number of men and women participating in the new movement was relatively large may be inferred from the fact that by the following year they had a *Board of Elders* with twenty-eight members, of whom three were priests and the rest laymen.[26] We still elect our Boards of Elders, composed of ministers and laymen, to supervise the spiritual life of our congregations. The name which they adopted for their organization, —*Unitas Fratrum,*[27] Unity of Brethren,—still remains the chief official name of our Church.

The success of the Unitas Fratrum was immediate. Attracted by their effort to lead a life according to biblical standards, many others joined them,[28] though not nearly all moved to Kunwald. This aroused the envy and disapproval of the Catholics and Utraquists, and a fierce persecution[29] ensued, which cost the lives of four devoted members and the torture of a number of others, but it also gave wide publicity to the movement and added many new members.[30] It became increasingly apparent that if the Unitas Fratrum was to endure it must break away from the Utraquist Church, without re-entering the Catholic, and that it must establish its own ministry, no longer depending on the services of friendly priests of the Utraquist or Catholic Churches.[31] How to secure proper ordination for their ministers was the question, for without that their organization would have no standing with the other churches, and their situation would be worse than before.[32] "Care must be taken to secure the Roman Catholic priesthood, which was alone legitimate,—to secure it in some way, but in all truth."[33]

The *Apostolic Succession,* as its name indicates, originated in the days of the Apostles, who had been commissioned by the Lord Jesus to carry the Gospel to all nations.[34] As the Early Christian Church developed these Apostles appointed others to act as leaders in various places.[35] Naturally, some of these leaders be-

came more prominent and influential than others, and in the course of time the title of *bishop* came to be applied to those priests who had been made superintendents of groups of other priests, and to whom the ordination of new men for priesthood had been committed. The apostolic custom was continued, and the officiating bishop laid his hands upon the head of the candidate, blessing him and setting him apart for his office.[36] More and more stress came to be laid upon this direct descent in office from the Apostles; and by the time that the Unitas Fratrum was organized it was definitely recognized and generally agreed that legitimate ordination could be secured only at the hands of a properly consecrated Catholic bishop. Only a priest was eligible for consecration as a bishop, but three priests had joined the Unitas Fratrum,[37], so it remained necessary only to find a bishop who might be willing to pass on to them the cherished Apostolic Succession. Such a man was found in Bishop Stephen, then associated with a company of Waldenses, living on the borders of Moravia.[38] He, and another Waldensian bishop who assisted, had been consecrated bishops at the Council of Basle in 1434.

The Waldenses had begun many years before, in France, under the leadership of Peter Waldo. Like the Unitas Fratrum, their main idea in the movement was pure living, but their groups had always remained within the Catholic Church, societies to which Catholic clergy might and did belong. Ultimately the Waldenses became a separate church, laying no stress upon episcopal ordination, but that was not until comparatively modern times.

In the year 1467 the momentous step was taken. In Synod assembled, the Unitas Fratrum solemnly elected three of its members to the priesthood,[39] one to become a bishop and the other two to be priests. Then the three priests, mentioned above as being already fully ordained, went to Bishop Stephen, and he and the other bishop, whose name is not known, consecrated them as bishops.[40] Returning to the settlement of the Brethren, Bishop Michael ordained the three elected men as priests; then he and the other two new bishops consecrated Matthias as the first bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, which thus became fully ready to begin an independent church life.[41] How important this act was may be seen from the fact that Catholic authorities seized Bishop Stephen

and burned him at the stake[42] for daring to give to the Unity of Brethren the cherished Apostolic Succession. Notice that we still entrust our most important decisions to our *Synods*; and that our Synods still elect our bishops; and that our bishops still receive the consecration passed to them by Bishop Stephen from the Catholic Church, and through that inherited from the days of the Apostles.

Of modern churches only a few claim the Apostolic Succession:—the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, the Church of England, the American Episcopal Church, and the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church. The Methodist bishops have large executive powers, but make no claim to the Apostolic Succession.

It would appear that in its earlier years the Unitas Fratrum had a tendency to turn away from the forms of service usual in Catholic congregations; indeed some of the fierce persecutions which came upon the Unity were based upon such changes[43] Some of the members of the Unity wanted to swing as far away as possible; others wanted to hold to customs that beautified the services, so long as they were in harmony with Bible standards.[44] Luke of Prague[45] came into prominence as a leader of the liberal party. Educated at the University of Prague, of marked executive ability, he became one of our out-standing bishops, following Gregory the Patriarch in the leadership of the Unitas Fratrum. We owe him much for saving to the Unity a number of customs which the Catholic Church had brought down from the days of the early, undivided Christian Church, and for developing the liturgical services of the Unity. He also stressed *music,*[46] and the congregational singing which John Hus had urged.

We also owe to Bishop Luke our inherited interest in *education.*[47] The Unitas Fratrum grew rapidly, in spite of recurring persecutions, and numerous congregations were formed, and each congregation had its schools for the education of its boys; possibly its girls also, though I am not sure that the education of girls was then considered important.

The invention of the printing press[48] contributed largely to the growth of the Unitas Fratrum, for the Unity bought a press very soon after they became available. Of the first fifty books published in Bohemia nearly all came from the Unity. They were

all books of a religious type, Confessions of faith, *Hymn Books*, and the like, and they served to make the doctrinal position of the Unitas Fratrum more widely known. The most recent Moravian Church Hymnal contains translations of some of the hymns appearing in that first edition, for they surely used the hymn of Hus already mentioned, and doubtless others which are called "Hussite" or "Bohemian Brethren" in our present Hymnal.

Our pleasure in *friendly intercourse with other denominations*[49] is also an inheritance from the Ancient Unity of Brethren. Our Unity was nearly seventy years old when Martin Luther began his great work in Germany, or one hundred years if one counts from the martyrdom of John Hus. When the Brethren in Bohemia heard of Luther's work they sent messengers to him to find out what he was doing and bid him God-speed. A little later members of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches came into Bohemia, and the Brethren of the Unitas Fratrum met them cordially, and co-operated with them in the effort to make Bohemia a Protestant nation.[51]

To Bishop John Augusta[52] we owe the idea that *Christians should be leaders* in the struggle for civic righteousness. He felt that the Unitas Fratrum should do more than lead its members into quiet, personal religion, and he saw no wrong in a civil office rightly used. Under him the Unity continued to grow, and some of the nobility joined its ranks, giving it greater influence.

The story of Bishop John Augusta is very dramatic, but we have no time to discuss it now. In addition to leading the Unity of Brethren into wider fields of service he wrote a number of hymns, of which one was a great favorite with the Renewed Unity of Brethren. We have it in translation in our Hymnal as No. 334:

> How blest and lovely Thy earthly dwellings are,
> Wherein assemble Thy Christian people dear,
> O God, our Lord, Thy praises to record.

It appears in a German translation in the Hymn Books used at the time that the American Moravian Church was founded, and the diaries of Wachovia show that it was often used in the early days in North Carolina.

We have mentioned some of the hymns which we have in-

herited from the Early Christian Church, and passing over all the writers of the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic Churches we now note eight leaders of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum whose hymns have come down to us and are given in our present Hymnal.

No. 1, by John Hus, has already been mentioned. It was sung before the sermon:

> The word of God, which ne'er shall cease,
> Proclaims free pardon, grace and peace.

No. 304, also by John Hus, is considered the oldest hymn of the Unitas Fratrum:

> To avert from men God's wrath
> Jesus suffered in our stead;
> By an ignominious death
> He a full atonement made;
> And by His most precious blood
> Brought us, sinners, nigh to God.

No. 720, by Bishop Luke of Prague, (1458-1528), is a funeral hymn:

> Now lay we calmly in the grave
> This form, whereof no doubt we have
> That it shall rise again that day,
> In glorious triumph o'er decay.

No. 334, by Bishop John Augusta (1500-1572), has already been mentioned:

> How blest and lovely Thy earthly dwelling are.

No. 154, by Bishop John Horn (died in 1547) is:

> Once He came in blessing,
> All our ills redressing,
> Came in likeness lowly,
> Son of God most holy;
> Bore the cross to save us,
> Hope and freedom gave us.

No. 269, also by Bishop Horn, suggests a time of persecution:

O be not thou dismayed,
Believing little band;
God, in His might arrayed,
To help thee is at hand.

No. 668, by Bishop Matthias Czervenka, (1521-1569,), seems to be a picture of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum as he knew it:

How good it is, how pleasant to behold
The favored sheep of our good Shepherd's fold;
Obeying Him, in love and knowledge grow,
Each sharing in the other's weal and woe.

The second stanza presents a thought which was emphasized in the Renewed Unity of Brethren by the events of Sept. 16th and Nov. 13th, 1741, two hundred years later:

Fullness of grace in Him, the Head, abounds;
Hence every blessing to His Church redounds;
He dwells with us, and by His Spirit's light
To love each other teaches us aright.

No. 231 is by Michael Weisse, who compiled the first German Hymn Book of the Unitas Fratrum, in 1531:

Christ the Lord is risen again,
Christ hath broken every chain,
Hark! angelic voices cry,
Singing evermore on high,
Hallelujah! praise the Lord!

No. 751 is by Petrus Herbert, Con-Senior of the Unitas Fratrum, who died in 1571. It begins:

O, exalt and praise the Lord,
Laud His name forevermore.

No. 787, also by Petrus Herbert, is a slumber hymn:

Now, God be with us, for the night is closing,
The light and darkness are of His disposing!
And 'neath His shadow here to rest we yield us,
For He will shield us.

No. 854, was written by Bishop John Amos Comenius in 1661, about nine years before death made it his own experience:

When my lips can frame no sound,
Saviour, be my faith's sure ground;
When my ears no longer hear,
May my spirit know Thee near;
When my eyes no longer see,
May my soul still rest in Thee!

To these hymns we may add twelve *tunes* which come from the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, and may still be seen in our "Offices of Worship and Hymns.."

1 A, Bohemian Brethren.
2 A, Bohemian Brethren.
16 A, Moravian.
22 D, Bohemian Brethren.
22 F, John Hus.
39 A, Moravian.
54 A, Moravian.
69 A, Bohemian Brethren.
121 A, Bohemian Brethren.
166 A, Moravian.
520 A, Bohemian.
581 C, Bohemian Brethren.

At an early period the Unitas Fartrum spread into Moravia, which adjoined Bohemia; spread also into Poland. Noblemen in Moravia gave shelter to refugees from Bohemia during the recurring persecutions; and it was a Moravian nobleman, Baron John von Zerotin, who bore the expense of the translation and printing of the *Kralitz Bible*.[53] Fourteen years were spent in this monumental work, finished in 1593, which gave the Bible to the Bohemian people in their own language. We can hardly call it our inheritance, since none of us could read it, but it is a truly priceless heritage of our Bohemian Brethren of today.

One additional inheritance from the Ancient Unitas Fratrum may yet be mentioned, and that is the memory of *John Amos Comenius*,[54] already noted among the hymn writers. It was the tragic fate of Bishop Comenius to see the glory of the Ancient Unity fall

into ruins. The Unitas Fratrum, the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, had together won for Bohemia the greatest religious liberty yet known in the world; and when this freedom was threatened they had taken up arms to protect it. Faced by all the power of Catholic Europe, the Protestants of Bohemia were overthrown; their leaders perished on the scaffold on that Day of Blood[55] in Prague in 1621; and religious freedom is only now returning to poor Bohemia after more than three hundred years. Among those who went into exile rather than give up their faith was Bishop John Amos Comenius, whom we know as the man whose prophetic vision led to the preservation of the Moravian Episcopate against the day when it should once more be needed. The world knows Comenius as the "father of modern education," the teacher who wished to make learning pleasant, the writer who put pictures into the hitherto dull pages of school-books. Honored in many lands, he was even offered the presidency of the then recently established University of Harvard, in Massachusetts, but declined because he was on the way to Sweden to re-organize the school system there. He wrote an indispensable chapter in the history of our Church, but he also wrote his name in indelible ink across the history of Education.

SECOND LECTURE.

Moravian Christmas and New Year Customs.

Request has been made that I speak to you this afternoon about our Moravian Christmas customs, and I am glad to do it, even though it interrupts a little the chronological order in which I am trying to arrange our customs and their origin.

Advent, as you know, is the beginning of the Christian Year, as recognized by the universal Christian Church, though some denominations lay more stress on Church Festivals than do others. Our Church Hymnal gives us two Advent Liturgies, one of which we use on the first, third and fourth Sundays in Advent, and the other on the second Sunday.

I do not know how old these Advent Liturgies are,—probably they are a gradual growth, being somewhat changed from time to time. In Salem we have developed our own custom in regard to

three anthems:—on the *First Sunday in Advent* we use in the morning the Hosannah Chorus composed by Edward Leinbach, of Salem, N. C., and in the evening we use the Hosannah Chorus composed by Christian Gergor, the great musician of the early days of the Renewed Church in Herrnhut, Germany. On the evening of the *Fourth Sunday in Advent* we use the Morning Star anthem, the words of which were written by Johann Scheffler, a physician of Silesia, Germany, who lived 1624-1677; translated by Bennet Harvey, Jr., a Moravian minister of England, living 1829-1894; the tune composed by Francis F. Hagen in 1842, two years before he came to North Carolina as pastor of the Moravian congregation of Bethania.

Our present liturgy for the *Second Sunday in Advent* is a practical illustration of liturgical freedom in our Moravian Church, for it differs greatly from the one given in the preceding edition of our Hymn Book. Notice how the former liturgy stressed terror, and the present one stresses triumph:—

The former begins with the stanza:

And will the judge descend?
  And must the dead arise,
And not a single soul escape
  His all-discerning eyes?
How will my heart endure
  The terrors of that day,
When earth and heaven before His face,
  Astonished, shrink away?

Our present liturgy begins with this,

Christ is coming! let creation
  Bid her groans and travail cease;
Let the glorious proclamation
  Hope restore and faith increase;
    Christ is coming;
Come, Thou blessed Prince of Peace.

This change in thought runs through the entire liturgy, though part of the old liturgy is used, and some of the same hymns.

When we come to *Christmas* there are certain questions that are always asked, and to which it is dffiicult to give definite answer.

The use of decorated *Christmas Trees* seems to be widespread, and different countries have different traditions to explain them. When I was a child I was deeply impressed by a picture book, of evident antiquity, which said that on one Christmas Eve as Martin Luther was going home through a fir forest he looked up and saw the stars twinkling through the branches. Cutting a small fir he took it home, placed lighted candles on it, and told his children the story of the Light which came into the world with the birth of Christ. Recently I heard a young woman, born in Russia, say that the tradition in that country is that when Christ was born all the animals and trees brought Him gifts. One little fir tree had nothing to offer, and was so sorely grieved that some of the little stars came down and rested in its branches, making of it a gift fit for the Bringer of Light. Our custom was doubtless brought by the Brethren coming from the European Moravian congregations, wherever they got it.

We Moravians seem to have made a distinctive development of the "*Putz.*" The word itself is German, meaning a decoration, but we have come to limit it to the decoration arranged around the bottom or aside of the Christmas Tree. Such a Putz, to begin with, suggests the Christmas story. Hills, with flocks of sheep, suggest the first Christmas Eve, with the message of the angels to the shepherds as they watched their sheep. If the maker of the Putz possesses the figures, the Nativity Scene is of course arranged; if not, there is at least a cave, with its reminder of the cave-stable of the Nativity. Beyond these two features the fancy of the maker of the Putz controls, and it may be so elaborate as to fill the entire side of a room, or small enough to place on the Christmas dinner table. It is interesting to see how much this feature of a Moravian Christmas is beloved. Mrs. Bourquin, wife of our missionary in South Africa, where the seasons are the reverse of ours, and December comes in the middle of the summer, writes that, the making of the Putz is her especial prerogative, and that no matter how hot the weather they light the candles on their little tree, and enjoy the Putz, in which sod has

been used instead of moss as foundation for their "Bethlehem." In Germany there is ice and snow at Christmas, but before winter closes in Mrs. Van Calker gathers moss and stores it in her cellar, for use in making her Putz.

No doubt the idea underlying the Putz is very old, dating back to the Early Christian Church, which tried to teach its congregations through the agency of tableaux. In a very old church in Rome, the church of Aracoeli, I saw a small figure of the Christ-Child, said to have been carved by a pious monk out of olive wood from the Mount of Olives. All sorts of quaint stories are told about this "Bambino," but the one belonging here is that at Christmas it is taken from its shrine in a side room, is carried into the church itself, and laid in a manger, with figures of the Holy Family and Shepherds placed around it,—a Nativity Scene coming down from early days. In Munich there is a large collection of specimens of the "creche,"—Nativity Scenes gathered from many old churches into this museum,—and this gives probability to the tradition that use of "die Krippe" was common in south Germany in pre-Reformation days, spreading north into Saxony.

How the members of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum celebrated Christmas I do not know, but their hymns bear witness to their regard for it. For instance there is one credited to the Bohemian Brethren, and appearing in our Offices of Worship and Hymns as No. 722:

Good Christian men, rejoice
With heart and soul and voice;
  Give ye heed to what we say:
  Jesus Christ is born today!
Ox and ass before Him bow,
And He is in the manger now,
  Christ is born today!

I wonder whether the fifth line is simply metaphor, or whether our Brethren of the Ancient Unity believed that on each Christmas Eve, at midnight, the cattle kneel in adoration of the Holy Child?

We are equally ignorant as to the Christmas customs of the Renewed Unity in Herrnhut, though here again the hymns give some clues. I am particularly interested in one written by the

Rev. John Toeltschig about 1746, of which the second stanza is the most familiar:

No. 58, Church Hymnal.

This will I do, thou Child Divine,
I'll give Thee that for which Thou cam'st;
My soul and body, Lord, are Thine,
And them in love to me Thou claim'st:
My humble sacrifice receive,
Dear Jesus, born to bleed for me,
That I by faith in Thee might live,
And with Thee live eternally.

John Toeltschig was born in Moravia, and came to Herrnhut as one of the "five Churchmen" to whom we owe so much for the part they played in the re-organization of the Unitas Fratrum. He was one of the first company going to Georgia in 1735; and later was a successful Moravian minister in England and Ireland; so our use of his hymn Christmas after Christmas in a certain sense brings us into touch with Moravia, Herrnhut, the first effort in America, and the work of our Chrch in Great Britain. It also demonstrates what citizens of the world many of our Brethren have been.

Turning to Pennsylvania we note that the name of *Bethlehem* is a Christmas souvenir.[56] In 1741 Count Zinzendorf was spending the Christmas season with the Brethren in the log house which had been built near the banks of the Lehigh,—a house constructed Continental fashion, with dwelling rooms and stable under one roof. Following the custom of that day the Brethren on the Lehigh were holding a Christmas Eve Watch Service, the Count presiding. During the service, on a sudden impulse, the Count arose and led the company into the stable, there continuing the service and singing a very old Christmas hymn which began:

"Not Jerusalem,
Rather Bethlehem
Gave us that which
Maketh life rich."

The little village that was to be had no name as yet, but this gave the Brethren an idea, and Bethlehem it was and is.

The custom of holding a service at midnight on *Christmas Eve* was brought by the Brethren to North Carolina. In 1753 the pioneers in the little log house in Wachovia celebrated Christmas Eve by holding two services, one at 9:30, and later a Love-feast which lasted until after twelve o'clock.[57] These stalwart young men did not think "Christmas is especially for the children," as one hears said nowadays, but with no women and no children present they worshipped the Christ-Child with all their hearts.

It is interesting to follow the Christmas services in Wachovia through the diaries of the congregations, and note the development into Christmas Eve as we know it.

In Bethabara, in 1755, the special feature was the reading by the minister, "from the large Hymn Book, hymns written in all centuries concerning the night of Christ's nativity." In 1756 a service was held on Christmas Eve at 10 o'clock, the singing led by trumpets and French horns. In 1758 a Christmas cantata was rendered, and Christmas hymns were sung.[58]

The French and Indian War brought many refugees to Bethabara and the Bethabara mill, where they were allowed to build log houses within the stockade.[59] The Moravians coming to North Carolina left their children in Bethlehem and Nazareth, so that they might not be exposed to the dangers of a frontier settlement, but there were children among the refugees at the mill, and these little folks came to Bethabara on Christmas Day in 1760, and listened with wide-eyed wonder to the story of the first Christmas, as told by the friendly men who gave them cake along with the story.

At a *Children's Love-feast* in 1762 lighted *wax tapers*[60] were given to the children for the first time. I have not been able to learn who invented the idea of using these little lighted tapers at a Christmas Love-feast, but their use has become one of our most cherished customs. So far as Wachovia is concerned, the custom originated in 1762, in Bethabara and Bethania simultaneously, and in both congregations the Love-feasts for the children were followed, later in the evening, by Love-feasts for the adult members. In Bethabara there was a third meeting, in which the story of the birth of Christ was read in German and in English from a Harmony of the Gospels.

During the year 1771 most of the members of Bethabara moved to the new, central town of Salem. Under date of Dec. 24th of that year the Salem diary notes the first Christmas Love-feast in Salem,[61] which took place at six o'clock in the evening, and was attended by the children, the married people, and the officers of the Single Brethren.

The diary entry of the next year, 1772, is fuller, and gives some idea of the way in which the service was conducted.[62] "At "six in the evening the children had their Love-feast, and Bro. "Tiersch spoke to them. During the Love-feast they were cate-"chised, and gladly answered the simple questions concerning the "birth of the Saviour. At the close they received lighted candles, "and sang a sweet Ave and Hallelujah to the Infant Jesus. At "eight o'clock the congregation assembled. The Texts for the day "were sung; then Bro. Tiersch spoke earnestly about them. Then "the Old Testament promises were sung antiphonally by the choirs "of Brethren and Sisters, the story of the birth of our dear Lord "was read, the choir of Brethren singing the angels' message: "'Unto you is born this day a Saviour,' and the choir of Sisters "singing the aria: 'Sweetest Infant in the manger.'"

We take printed *Odes* for granted, at any Love-feast, but their use is relatively modern. In our Salem Archives there are many manuscript odes, prepared for occasions of various dates, and the diaries note special odes arranged for special occasions. Probably the ministers, and perhaps the choir members, were the only ones who had these programs, and the congregation, knowing many hymns, fell into the singing as soon as the first words of a stanza were heard. As a rule, only one Ode of each kind is preserved in our Archive collection. In 1782 Bro. Gottlieb Schober, returning from Pennsylvania, brought with him some copies of a printed Ode.[63] which was used for the first time at the Festival for Little Boys, then held on June 24th. The general use of printed Odes probably began about 1798. On Jan. 23rd of that year there is a note in the Minutes of the Aufseher Collegium that a printing office had been opened in Salisbury, and after some discussion it was decided to order Odes for the Great Sabbath Love-feast, the price to be about $3.00 for 150 copies. At the next meeting of the Board the number to be ordered was increased to two hundred.

The experiment turned out well, the Brethren being pleased with the appearance of the Odes, and the use of English type in the printing, so others were ordered for other occasions. If one may judge by the custom still followed in Herrnhut, Germany, no introduction was played by the organist to any hymn, but the congregation passed directly from stanza to stanza and from tune to tune.

The use of red *paper frills* around the wax tapers distributed in the Christmas Love-feast is of comparatively recent origin. When I was a child none were used in Salem, though it is said that they had formerly been in vogue but had been dropped because of the expense and the danger of fire. We were taught to cut some for ourselves at home and take them to Love-feast with us, winding them around our candles so that the dripping wax would not burn our fingers. Then a good lady had a kindly thought for the children not so protected, and offered to pay for the needed red tissue paper, and this led to the custom of meeting to cut the papers and to trim the candles with them, and when customs are worth while we have as much right to start them as did our forefathers. Giving the lighted tapers to the adult congregation is also a product of our generation, for I was grown and a Sunday School teacher when that began. The first step was to give them to all Sunday School teachers, and I can still see the twinkle in the eyes of one of my pupils, helping to distribute the candles, when I eagerly stretched out my hand to be sure that he did not miss me. It added much to the beauty of the service, and was quite a relief to me, when everybody began to get the candles in the Love-feast for adults. It calls for a great many candles,—we trimmed 3000 for the Home Church last Christmas,—but it is worth the cost and the labor, and we will pass it on as our contribution to the inheritance of the future Moravian Church.

It has always been the custom, also, to preach a Christmas sermon on *Christmas Day* in the morning, and to have some sort of a Christmas service in the evening. The type of the latter has varied from time to time. Sometimes there was another Christmas sermon; sometimes an evening of Christmas hymns and chorales. When Sunday Schools became firmly established it was a favorite time for giving Sunday School Christmas concerts; now there seems

to be a tendency to return to anthems and chorales. The custom is duly maintained by any service of praise, without adhering to any one definite form.

NEW YEAR CUSTOMS

New Year is not one of the Festivals of the Church Year, though we give it religious observance.

People of all nations have always noted the passing from one year into another, but the date of that transition has varied greatly. It is impossible here to go into the history of the calendar, but we may mention one or two points which are of interest to us as Moravians.

When the Julian Calendar had ceased to match the actual seasons, a new calendar, called the Gregorian, was worked out. As this Gregorian Calendar was a Catholic enterprise it was at once accepted by Catholic nations, but the Protestants held back, and nearly three centuries passed before everybody fell into line. Germany accepted it a number of years before England, so when we compare the diary kept by our Moravian Brethren, as they crossed the Atlantic to Georgia in 1736, with the diary kept by John Wesley on the same voyage,[64] we find a difference of eleven days for each event noted, for the Germans were using the new calendar, and the Englishman was using the old calendar, which had fallen eleven days behind the new. In some of our Salem Church Books there are entries showing both calendars; there are dates of birth, for instance, designated as "O. S." Old Style, while in other cases both dates are given with a line between, June 10/21, for example, means June 10th Old Style calendar, and June 21st by the Gregorian Calendar.

Another confusion arose over the date on which the new year began, for the Julian Calendar made March 25th the first day of the new year, while the Gregorian Calendar year begins on January 1st. During the transition period both year dates were sometimes given in our records, and are most confusing unless fully understood. Jan. 20, 1753/54, for example, means Jan. 20, 1754, by the Gregorian Calendar, the one we still use. This is not just a matter of history but is really important, for the correct reading makes a difference of a full year in a date of birth, for instance,

and may have a vital influence on some "Family Tree." Our Moravian Church Books, it should be remembered, are frequently used to establish descent from Revolutionary Ancestors, and the like, and you know how important that is!

In North Carolina, January First was *New Year's Day*[65] for the first time in 1753, for North Carolina was an English Colony and Great Britain adopted the Gregorian Calendar in 1752. On Jan. 1, 1753, Bishop Spangenberg and his party were in camp on the land in "the three forks of Muddy Creek," which we call Wachovia, and were busily surveying it so that a proper map could be made. The diary entry for Dec. 31, 1753, the next *New Year's Eve*,[66] gives a graphic picture of the little group settled in Bethabara, and making a beginning of the Moravian Church in North Carolina. It reads: "We had expected to observe the Night Watch, but were "prevented" by the arrival of six travelers, who stopped and asked lodging for the night. "Our little cabin was very full, and Bro. Pfeil "was still ill, and we were much inconvenienced. Three Brethren "slept out of doors, and two sat up. We were sorry not to have our "Watch Service, but what could we do,—and our dear Saviour knew "our circumstances." This entry shows that the Brethren were accustomed to hold a service late in the evening of New Year's Eve, and glimpses of this Watch Meeting in later years show that their custom was much the same as ours.

On Dec. 31, 1755, it is recorded that with the singing of a hymn the Brethren of Bethabara passed from the old year into the new.[67] On New Year's Eve of 1756 the Brethren had a Love-feast at 9 o'clock, during which the *Memorabilia* of the year just ending was read;[68] and this was followed by the closing midnight meeting. In the diary of 1762 the hymn used at the beginning of the new year is mentioned,[69] and is most familiar.

Now thank we all our God
With hearts and hands and voices.

These words were written about 1636 by Rev. Martin Rinkart, a German Lutheran minister, and the music is of about the same age, having been composed by Johann Crueger about 1649.

Salem congregation was organized[70] in November, 1771, so the services of New Year's Eve of that year in Salem are of par-

ticular interest to us. There were three services during the even ing,[71] and they show in a striking manner the world-wide connections of the handful of men and women there gathered. First there was a Love-feast, with the singing of hymns and chorales, and the reading of Memorabilia of certain European Moravian congregations. In the second meeting Memorabilia were read of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz, Pa., for 1770, and of the Wachovia congregations for 1771. In the third service the coming of the new year was announced by trombones, and the singing of "Now let us praise the Lord," which was followed by a prayer, all kneeling. The service closed with the singing of two hymns, and the reading of the Daily Texts for New Year's Day, 1772.

Formerly, in Salem, New Year's Day was observed with one or more church services. In 1772, for instance, Salem congregation met at ten o'clock in the morning for singing and a sermon.[72] In the afternoon there were meetings of various groups of the congregation. At seven o'clock in the evening the congregation sang a liturgy beginning:

O spotless lamb of God,

and there was an address on the Old Testament Text for the day. The custom of a New Year's sermon persisted in Salem until recent years, but has now been dropped unless New Year's Day comes on Sunday.

THIRD LECTURE

Our Inheritance from the Renewed Unitas Fratrum.

Today we begin the story with a death-bed scene,—rather a lugubrious place to begin, perhaps, but not so in fact, for it was a death-bed illumined by a vision. "Father" George Jaeschke,[73] as he was affectionately called, was descended from members of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum who had migrated from Bohemia to Moravia during the persecutions of the fifteenth century. He was one of those to whom we refer when we speak of the *Hidden Seed,* that is, he and his family cherished in secret the doctrines of the Ancient Unity, though they perforce conformed outwardly to

enough of the Catholic customs to be able to remain in Moravia. Like other loyal descendants of the Ancient Unity he had carefully passed on to his children and children's children the doctrines and traditions of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, and with them a longing for the religious liberty which the Brethren had once enjoyed.[74]

George Jaeschke was an old man. By his first marriage he had daughters who had married, and through them he had grandsons already nearly grown; by his second marriage there was one son, still but a child. As death approached, something of prophetic fire came upon the venerable man, and calling children and grandchildren around him he spoke something after this fashion: "It seems to me that the day is coming when you will gain religious "liberty; possibly it will come in Moravia, but I think not; I think "you will have to go into another country, and there make new "homes. When that day comes be not slow to avail yourselves of "the opportunity, and I charge you that you take this my little son "with you." The Neisser grandsons promised, and the old man passed away in peace.

Years slipped away. We need not go into details concerning the re-awakening in Moravia of a desire for religious liberty.[75] From several sources the impulse came, and finally, through an acquaintance named Christian David,[76] the Neissers heard that the young Count Zinzendorf had promised them a temporary asylum on his estate of Berthelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, a part of the Electorate of Saxony.

The story of Zinzendorf[77] is too well known to need repetition in detail. He came from a long line of Austrian nobility, and one branch of his family still held the Vale Wachau, in southern Austria, and the senior member of his House was Hereditary Master of the Hunt at the Austrian Court. Erasmus, grandfather of our Count Zinzendorf, had become a Protestant, and had moved from Austria into Germany. His son, George von Zinzendorf, married twice, dying six weeks after the birth of the little son of his second marriage. His widow married again, and moved to Berlin, leaving her little son to be brought up by her mother, the Baroness von Gersdorf. The Baroness belonged to the pietistic group in Germany, and little Nicholas Lewis was carefully trained

in religious things, to which he responded readily. His dates are easy to remember, for he was born in 1700, so grew with the century. If you would like to know his full name and title I will give it to you:—"Nicholas Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf and "Pottendorf; Lord of Freydek, Schönek, Thürnstein and the vale "Wachau; Lord of the Estates of Upper, Middle and Lower Ber- "thelsdorf, including Herrnhut; hereditary Master of the Hunt in "Austria, below the Ens; Councillor and Justiciary of His Majesty "King August II of Poland in his Electorate of Saxony."[78] As a rule he used his chief title, Count Zinzendorf, but when occasion arose he took one of his lesser titles, which was considered quite the proper thing to do when a nobleman wished to travel incognito. So it was as Von Freydek that he took orders in the Luthertan ministry,[79] in 1734, though he had given his full name and rank privately to the Lutheran officials: and it was as Lewis Thürnstein that he visited America[80] in 1741, when the ceremony surrounding a Count would have been most inconvenient. The only specific inheritance which I can show you from his long string of titles is the name *Wachau*. Many years after the renewal of the Unitas Fratrum, Bishop Spangenberg and his party crossed North Carolina looking for a tract which the Unity might buy as site for a settlement; they selected a tract in the three forks of Muddy Creek, and because of its topographical resemblance to the vale Wachau Spangenberg suggested that the name "Wachau" should be given to the North Carolina purchase.[81] From the beginning of the settlement the name was spelled *Wachovia* whenever the English language was used, the original form Wachau being employed when the language was German. The early settlers in Wachovia called the south fork of Muddy Creek *the Ens*, after the river near which the Austrian vale Wachau lay, but today the name can be found only on some of our old maps, and we give the stream the name "South Fork."

Count Zinzendorf bought the estate of Berthelsdorf in the early spring of 1722, but was in Dresden in his position of Councillor and Justiciary when he allowed Christian David to see him about the desires of the families in Moravia.[82] When he learned of the persecution to which they were subjected he gave permission to Christian David to bring some of them to Berthelsdorf,

meaning to help them find homes elsewhere, though as it turned out they found a permanent home on his estate.

Christian David returned to Sehlen, in Moravia, and told the Neissers of the promise made by Count Zinzendorf. They at once decided to emigrate, and in the dead of night forsook all their worldly possessions and set out for the new home.[83] The party consisted of Augustine and Jacob Neisser, their wives, four little children, Michael Jaeschke and Martha Neisser. Michael Jaeschke was the once small son of old "father Jaeschke," now twenty-one years of age, and when he heard of the plan he gladly joined the company. These persons were followed at intervals by others, who slipped across the border at the same great risk of arrest and imprisonment,[84] and made their way to the new town of Herrnhut, which the first party had founded on the estate of Count Zinzendorf. Apart from the traditions which they brought with them we are indebted to them for two of our inheritances:—the name *Moravian*, which, because they emigrated from Moravia, came to be a sort of secondary name of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum, and is now one of the legal names of our American Moravian Church, and to this we may add *Ancestors* for some of our modern Moravians, for there are some who are descended from these Moravian emigrants, and as you know, in this day every well-regulated family is supposed to have Ancestors and to know about them.

The village of Herrnhut,[85] begun June 17, 1722, was located about a mile from Zinzendorf's manor house in Berthelsdorf. To it were attracted many besides those who came from Moravia. Some were drawn by its religious atmosphere, others by the report of religious liberty, others by the idea of freedom to do as they pleased which they mistakenly thought existed there. Naturally dissensions arose, and things became confused. In this emergency the young Count came home to settle matters among his tenants, for such they really were.

He met with the people of Herrnhut time after time; he sent away from Herrnhut those who were without earnest purpose; and helped the Schwenkfelder emigrate to America, where they settled in Pennsylvania. Finally there were left in Herrnhut only the refugees from Moravia, and others of similar desire for a religious life, developed along the lines of the traditions of the An-

cient Unitas Fratrum. Among the men from Moravia were five young men, *"the five Churchmen,"* who had left their homes with the express purpose of seeing whether it might be possible to revive the Ancient Unity. There were three David Nitschmanns in this group:[86] David Nitschmann the weaver, David Nitschmann the carpenter, and David Nitschmann the wheelwright. They play an important part in our Moravian story, for the weaver became the Syndic, that is the representative of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum before courts and kings; the carpenter became the first bishop of the Renewed Unity; and the wheelwright, who had once escaped from the prison into which he had been thrown for the faith's sake, returned to Moravia to visit his imprisoned father, was re-arrested, and died a martyr's death.

Out of Zinzendorf's efforts for harmony came one of our inheritances. Numerous conferences and equally numerous prayer meetings finally brought the people of Herrnhut into a willingness to lay aside their differences and live together as brethren in the Lord. On May 12, 1727,men and women met to pledge allegiance to the *Brotherly Agreement*,[87] each giving the hand to Count Zinzendorf in token thereof. This Brotherly Agreement was a series of rules, regulations and ideals, setting forth the ground of their intercourse with each other as members of the community, as individuals, and as Christians. In the course of years some changes have been made in the wording, but you and I had to sign the Brotherly Agreement before we were entitled to vote in the Congregation Council of Salem congregation. By that we promised to live sober, honest and industrious lives, to bring up our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and in general to demean ourselves as honorable, upright, decent Christians, as good church-members, good neighbors and good citizens. In the Salem Archives there are copies of the Brotherly Agreements signed by the pioneer members of Friedberg, Friedland and Hope; and the diaries tell of formal acceptance of the Brotherly Agreement by the congregations of Salem, Bethabara and Bethania[88] at an early date. I do not know how many of our congregations retain the custom of requiring members to sign the Brotherly Agreement before voting in Council, but it is certainly one of the inheritances of Salem.

Following this agreement to live together in brotherly accord, the people of Herrnhut continued to have conferences and prayer-meetings, and finally felt that they were ready to unite in a celebration of the Lord's Supper. A desire for the greatest possible emphasis upon the importance of this Communion induced the leaders of Herrnhut to prepare certain questions and arrange for the formal *Confirmation*[89] of two candidates who were to partake for the first time. As the service began on that Wednesday morning, *Aug.* 13, 1727, Pastor Rothe solemnly confirmed the two young women, then took his place with the congregation, having invited a neighboring minister to officiate in the *Communion*.[90] Count Zinzendorf offered an impassioned prayer, and so great was the blessing felt during the service, and so great was its influence, that it is called the birthday of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum.

An interesting story[91] is told in connection with this service. Two of the men of Herrnhut were away at work, and did not know that Communion was to be held. When they returned from the adjoining town their first question was: "What happened here last Wednesday morning?" In answer to the inquiry why they wished to know they explained that on that morning they had felt an irresistible impulse to stop and pray. Then of course they heard what had happened, a story beautifully told by our English Moravian hymn-writer, James Montgomery:

They walked with God in peace and love
  But failed with one another;
While sternly for the faith they strove
  Brother fell out with brother.
But He in Whom they put their trust,
Who knew their frames that they were dust,
  Pitied and healed their weakness.

He found them in His house of prayer
  With one accord assembled,
And so revealed His presence there
  They wept for joy, and trembled.
One cup they drank, one bread they brake,
One baptism shared, one language spake,
  Forgiving and forgiven.

Then forth they went, with tongues of flame
In one blest theme delighting;
The love of Jesus, and His Name,
God's children all uniting.
That love our theme and watchword still;
That law of love may we fulfill,
And love as we are loved.[92]

I think every Moravian ought to know that word-picture, which so well describes the event, the anniversary of which we celebrate on each thirteenth of August.

At the close of the Communion service some of the people lingered, loath to separate. You know how we sometimes stand around after an interesting meeting, talking it over; so those Brethren and Sisters tarried, some groups praying, others discussing the wonderful blessing which had come to them. Nobody was quite ready to go home and cook dinner, and Zinzendorf, with ready sympathy for their feeling, went to his manor house not far away and sent food to the seven little groups lingering at the church.[93] Then something else happened. As Zinzendorf saw them eating together, in that happy fellowship and brotherly love, he remembered the *Agapae* of Apostolic times, the "meal in common" of the early Christians, and it made a deep impression upon him, and right there our *Love-feast* began. The people of Herrnhut caught the idea as Zinzendorf explained it to them, and the Love-feast became one of their favorite forms of religious service. Spangenberg says that they used it: "thankfully to remember the goodness of God; unitedly to sing and play hymns of praise and thanksgiving and psalms of joy; to renew the covenant in Christ; and either before or after the celebration of the Lord's Supper to unitedly proclaim His death." Today it is one of our most distinctive customs, beloved by Moravians and non-Moravians alike, as witness the crowds in the Home Church at the Christmas and Easter Love-feasts. As you know, our Love-feast is not limited to communicants, and young and old, Moravians and non-Moravians, may break bread together as one Christian family. What we eat is not important,—Herrnhut drinks tea, we drink coffee, we may have buns or sweet pretzel or sugar-cake,—the really important item is the spirit of Christian love which should prevail.

The *Festival of the Thirteenth of August,* therefore, has a three-fold significance: the re-inauguration[94] of formal Confirmation of candidates for the Lord's Supper, the out-pouring of the Spirit in the Communion, and the beginning of Love-feasts.

Another thing is suggested by speaking of Love-feasts. People may sometimes wonder why a Love-feast is a song-service, without formal address or sermon. The way in which the Love-feast was used in Herrnhut may be a partial explanation, but in addition it may be said that the early members of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum loved song services, which were their inheritance from John Hus and the Ancient Unity. Of "Singstunden,"—song services,—Count Zinzendorf said this:[95] "When Singstunden are "omitted or neglected by a congregation it is a proof, either that "something is wrong with the heart or that the matter is not "rightly understood. People who will listen one finds throughout "the world, but people who will sing and play to their Lord with "feeling and understanding, and who do not weary of this through "many years, these one does not find everywhere, but only among "His own, and especially where there are congregations of Breth-"ren." In our Love-feasts we have combined the Agapae of the Early Christian Church and the Singstunden of the early days in Herrnhut. (I do not include the Communion service with the Singstunden, because that has always been a service distinctive and apart, with a character all its own.)

Children generally follow the example of their parents, whether for good or evil, and the children were not uninfluenced by the spiritual movement in Herrnhut in 1727. The blessing of the Thirteenth of August, poured out upon the adult congregation, was followed in a few days by an awakening among the children. It began among the little girls[96] on *August* 17th, a date which we observe as the *Children's Festival.* Little Susannah Kühnel is generally mentioned as the first to find peace and the assurance of salvation, but the story of Anna Nitschmann proves that she had had the same experience on the same day, and I am glad of it, because to me Anna Nitschmann is one of the most interesting of women.

In 1730, Anna Nitschmann, just a young girl herself, organized a covenant band[97] among the older girls and younger unmar-

ried women, in which they agreed together to work for the Lord in whatever sphere of life it might please Him to appoint for them. Date of this covenant is given as May 4th, and those of us who are *Single Sisters and Older Girls* observe *May 4th,* or the Sunday nearest to it, as our Festival, or *Covenant Day.*

On Oct. 29, 1741, the young men of Herrnhut organized a similar band;[98] therefore our *Single Brethren and Older Boys* observe their *Covenant Day* on the Sunday nearest *Oct. 29th.*

Another custom which originated in 1727 was the *Hourly Intercession,*[99] which fell into disuse but has recently received new notice, an attempt having been made to revive it. It began as an organization among the men and women of Herrnhut, who decided that prayer and praise should arise from their village every hour of the twenty-four. A man and a woman volunteered or were appointed for each hour of the day and night. Subjects for prayer were announced at stated meetings of the group. Members offered their prayers alone, in their own rooms, it being understood that part of each hour might be spent in Bible reading and the singing of hymns. The Hourly Intercession was organized in Salem during its early years, and in the Salem Archives we have several little boxes, containing the names of members written on small quills of paper. Some of the boxes are marked "to be drawn," others are marked "Drawn," so apparently hours of service were determined by drawing the names from the boxes, but no one served a second time until a full round had been made.

Another thing which came out of that same period is our *Text Book.*[100] The people met once or twice each evening, which is not as difficult as it sounds, for they lived near the meeting-hall, and did not dress up, but gathered for a few minutes as they came in from work, or at bed-time for evening prayers. Count Zinzendorf often held the evening service, and in May, 1728, he began speaking on some selected text which he asked the congregation to remember and think about next day. As the congregation grew, and not all members were able to attend each service, some one was appointed to go to each home in the morning and announce the text. In 1731 they began to print the texts, which were then, of course, selected in advance. Two texts were chosen for each day, a Watchword, from the Old Testament, and a Doctrinal Text

from the New Testament. So long as he lived Count Zinzendorf selected the texts; after his death in May, 1760, another system was worked out. From a large selection of suitable texts from the Old Testament the Unity's Elders' Conference drew a Watchword for each day, prayer being offered that each might be God's message to His people.

An appropriate Doctrinal Text was also chosen by a minister appointed for the purpose; and to each Text a few lines from some hymn were added, to emphasize the thought. This method is still followed, and the texts are drawn in Herrnhut, from the century-old collection, the Doctrinal Texts are added there, and each Province of the Unity appends such versicles as it chooses. I assume that you all use the Text Book, and suggest that you read the Preface for detailed information as to the number of copies printed today, and the languages in which it appears. For many years Bishop Jacobson, father of Mrs. Edward Rondthaler, edited the American edition of the Text Book; now Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton has it in charge.

Another inheritance, though we do not think of it as such, is our interest in *Foreign Missions*. The Apostles received the commission to go and preach the Gospel to all nations; the Early Christian Church carried it to various parts of Europe. Our Ancient Unitas Fratrum did a great deal of Home Missionary work, but had no opportunity of going to foreign fields, for when the Unity was founded America had not been discovered, and when it was overthrown Jamestown was just beginning, Africa was a "dark continent," and Asia nearly as little known. The mission cause received a new impetus in Herrnhut, and, as you know, our missionaries went to the West Indies in 1732, to Greenland in 1733, and to Georgia in 1735. We will not now take up the story of our missions, which have recently received much attention through the celebration of the Bicentenary of work in the West Indies and Greenland, but they must be remembered in any study of Moravian customs.

In the Ancient Unitas Fratrum self-preservation forced the Brethren to secure the *Episcopate*. In the Renewed Unity the need for the ordination of missionaries led the Brethren to re-possess

themselves of their line of bishops.[101] John Amos Comenius, living when the Ancient Unitas Fratrum was overthrown, had hoped that the Unity might yet be restored, and had shared in the consecration of his son and one or two others, and when the Unitas Fratrum was indeed renewed, and ordination was needed for its missionaries, the ancient Episcopate was held by a grandson of Bishop Comenius, Rev. Daniel Jablonsky, of Berlin, and by Bishop Sitkovius, of Poland. These two willingly consecrated David Nitschmnan, who had been selected as the first bishop of the Renewed Unity. Two years later the Bishops Jablonsky, Sitkovius and Nitschmann consecrated Count Zinzendorf, who had taken orders in the Lutheran Church, thinking so best to serve his Moravians, before it was decided to renew the Unitas Fratrum.[102] Count Zinzendorf functioned as a bishop, but seems to have preferred the title of Ordinarius or of Advocatus, the latter referring to his service as Advocate or representative of the Unity in dealing with the leading men of England or other nations. The Episcopate once secured, the Renewed Unity found it wise to ordain its own ministers for home service as well as for foreign fields; it ordained some of its leading women also, for in a book of *Ordinations* in the Salem Archives there are women entered as though they ranked with the Bishops, more ranking as Presbyters, and still more ranking with the Deacons. In the first list stands the name of Anna Nitschmann, who for a short while served as Chief Elder of the Unity in its early days in Herrnhut, who confirmed, and gave the parting blessing to the dying.[103] In Wachovia there were at least ten women who held the rank of Deaconess,[104] and it must be understood that this meant real ordination, for reception as *Akoluthe* covered about what is meant by the term "deaconess" as used in modern denominations. However, so far as our Wachovia diaries show, these ordained women functioned only among the women; there are notes showing that the Sisters Marshall and Quest confirmed women for the Communion, that Sisters Marshall and Graff assisted their husbands in serving the Communion, and that Sister Graff assisted her husband, Bishop Graff, in the ordination of a Deaconess. Of course they conducted services for the women, but I have found nothing to indicate that they baptized, performed the marriage ceremony, consecrated the elements in the

Lord's Supper, or buried the dead. When Count Zinzendorf died he was robed for burial in his white surplice with the crimson girdle;[105] when Anna Nitschmann died she was robed for burial in her white surplice with the crimson girdle;[106] so it seems evident that her position as Chief Eldress of the women was considered practically equivalent to his so far as church office was concerned.

When the ancient Unitas Fratrum broke away from the Utraquist Church it seems to have discarded vestments for its ministers,[107] but in 1609, at the time of the federation of Protestants in Bohemia, their ministers were wearing a black robe when preaching and when administering the Sacraments. As this gave offense to the Utraquists, and as no principle was involved, several of the Bishops donned the *white surplice*,[108] and the custom of our church in this respect probably dates from this period. In the Salem Archives there is a most interesting old engraving of Bishop John Amos Comenius, who wears a white surplice with a girdle tied in a bow at one side. There is a tradition that the girdle was copied from that worn by priests of the Greek Catholic Church, and if true this is a pleasant reminder of the debt that our Church owes to the Greek Church for the services of Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. Priests of the Roman Catholic Church do not bind their vestments with a girdle. In Herrnhut the white surplice was introduced[109] about 1749,—re-introduced we should say,—some of the ministers using a crimson girdle. Possibly this crimson girdle was suggested by Zinzendorf, for the white and crimson seem to correspond to the idea expressed in the familiar stanza:

Church Hymnal No. 445.

> The Saviour's blood and righteousness
> My beauty is, my glorious dress;
> Thus well arrayed I need not fear
> When in His presence I appear.

In our Church Hymnal this hymn as a whole is credited to Count Zinzendorf as author, but the German Hymn Book[110] says that this first stanza was written by Paul Eber in the early part of the sixteenth century, and that Zinzendorf wrote the other nineteen stanzas. So far as I know the red girdle fell into disuse after

the death of Zinzendorf, but Herrnhut still spreads the Communion table with a crimson cloth covered by a smaller white one.

In 1534 the executive board of the Ancient Unity directed the use of *wafers*[111] (unleavened bread) at *Communion* instead of common bread "in order that we shall not needlessly separate ourselves from other people by this ceremony," a custom which we still follow. The use of unleavened bread goes all the way back to the first "Passover" in Egypt; the Jews used it in their anniversary observances of the Passover, so it was unleavened bread which was on the table in Jerusalem when the Lord's Supper was instituted. Of course the Catholic Church used it; and when the Ancient Unity returned to it in 1534 it prepared for us an inheritance from very ancient days.

We have already spoken of the religious training given to Zinzendorf from his earliest childhood, and his ready response thereto. The child's acceptance of the fact that Jesus Christ was his Friend as well as his Saviour found its full development in the picture gallery of Düsseldorf, in 1719. The young Count had finished college, and according to the custom of that day was making an extended tour before taking up his life-work. The picture which made so deep an impression upon him was an *Ecce Homo,*[112] presenting the thorn-crowned Christ, with bound hands holding a reed. Under the picture was this inscription: "Ego pro te haec passus sum: tu vero quid fecist pro me,"—This have I borne for thee: what doest thou for Me? Then and there Zinzendorf consecrated his life to the service of the suffering Saviour; and much later he could say with truth: "I have but one passion and that is Christ." The youth had brains, personal magnetism, position, money, every opportunity for worldly success and advancement, but within a few years he turned aside from political preferment to spend his means and all his personal endowments for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. That was his answer to the question of the "Ecce Homo."

An evidence of the whole-hearted way in which the Renewed Unitas Fratrum followed Zinzendorf in the acknowledgment of Christ as the central factor in their church life came in 1741. From the organization of the Ancient Unity the Brethren elected Elders

to look after the spiritual interests of the congregations. The Renewed Unity continued this practice, adding the office of *Chief Elder.*[113] In this office Leonard Dober was solemnly installed in 1735. His duties and his responsibilities increased with the growth of the Unity. Spangenberg says that he was expected to hold together all the congregations of the Unity, with their choirs, ministers and enterprises of all kinds; he should be personally acquainted with all the Brethren and Sisters in the service of the church; all were free to take to him their wishes and their complaints, and to seek his advice; he must watch that all congregations and all members held fast to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost; he must be in prayer day and night, bearing upon his heart the entire Unity and every part thereof. In conferences he was expected to be familiar with both sides of every matter discussed. Dober had carried this official load for years, but it finally became too heavy and too great for him, and he asked, in writing, for release.

In September, 1741, a conference[114] of the leaders of the Renewed Unity, met in London, England, to prepare for the management of affairs during the Count's absence in America. The conference consisted of Count Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, Dober, and two other men, Countess Zinzendorf, Mrs. Spangenberg, two other women, and the sixteen year old daughter of the Count, who was to accompany him to America. Much difficulty was experienced in finding a man with the necessary qualifications to follow Dober, and finally the question was asked: "Will not the Lord our Saviour graciously take this office upon Himself?" Spangenberg says[115] of the conclusion of the matter: "We looked to Him in prayer which came from the bottom of our heart, and He heard our petitions and graciously gave us the assurance that He, Himself, would be our Elder; and we accepted Him with joy and deep humility. This took place on the 16*th of September.*

To allow time for the sending of letters, *November* 13*th* was appointed as the date on which this action of the Conference should be made known simultaneously in the scattered congregations of the Unity. The news was received with emotion, amazement and gratitude,[116] and the day has come to be one of the most important anniversaries in our Church. In Herrnhut, on Nov. 13, 1741,

and again on Nov. 13, 1841, a beautiful rainbow was seen. In Salem the day has a double significance, for Salem Congregation was organized[117] on Nov. 13, 1771, but the Ode which the Home Church uses for the Thirteenth of November Love-feast begins with the hallowed and significant words:

All hail! our Church's Elder dear,
Jesus, her glorious Head.

It may be added that since 1741 there has been no one-man power in the Moravian Church. Business is carried on through *Synods* and *elective Boards*, even our Bishops having no executive power by virtue of that office, but only through election to some governing board.

Another event, of different character but also important, took place in London in 1749. After a committee of fifty members had studied the papers submitted by the Renewed Unitas Fratrum, the British Parliament formally recognized[118] the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church, as an *Ancient, Protestant, Episcopal Church*, and granted it full liberty of conscience, worship and organization throughout Great Britain and its Colonies. This recognition by Parliament was of vital importance to our forefathers in Wachovia, for North Carolina was an English Colony, and until the Revolution the Church of England was the State Church. Shortly after the beginning of Bethabara the Brethren submitted their position to the Assembly of North Carolina, which made a separate and distinct parish[119] out of the Moravian lands, authorizing the residents to elect their own Vestry and their own Church Wardens. These functioned little more than nominally, and left the Moravian Church the only one, outside of the Church of England, with legal freedom of government and action, until the close of the Revolution terminated British rule.

This inheritance from 1749 still means a good deal to our Church. In England the Moravian Church holds a middle position between the State Church and the "Chapels," that term covering all other denominations, and Bishop Evelyn Hassé told me once that his church in Bedford, England, was always the meeting place when any concerted action was to be planned by the "Church"

and the "Chapels." The same thing holds true in North Carolina, where I have seen a Moravian Bishop and an Episcopal Bishop side by side behind the chancel rail in an Episcopal church, while fraternal relations exist also with Presbyterians and other non-Episcopal churches.

We have already noted the interest of the Ancient Unity in *Education*. The Renewed Unity followed this ideal also, and established a number of schools in Europe, some of which remain active to this day. The Brethren coming to America brought the tradition with them, and established schools for their boys and girls. *Bethlehem College for Women, Salem College,* and *Linden Hall,* in that order, are the three oldest schools in the United States for the higher education of women.[120] *Salem Academy* was begun in 1772, as a day school for little girls, and it is worthy of note that on the Board of Elders that arranged for its commencement there were three men,[121] trained in the great Universities of Europe, who cared so much for education that they established schools in their small village just as soon as there were children in it old enough to learn the alphabet. This day-school made such an impression on visitors that they asked that provision be made for their daughters, which led to the second step, the founding of a boarding school, with which the older day-school was merged, the two together becoming known as Salem Academy.[122] Ultimately Salem College grew out of Salem Academy, a natural growth, with neither break nor new beginning, so that while they are now conducted separately they both have the common origin in the school of 1772.

FOURTH LECTURE

Moravian Easter Customs.

You will remember that we spoke of our inheritance in the appointed readings from the Gospels and Epistles, as those readings were arranged in the days of the Early Christian Church. The same *seven seasons of the Church Year* are recognized in our Church Hymnal, which gives us a Liturgy and a collection of Hymns for each. Our General Synod, accepting the same seven seasons, has arranged them in four groups, giving this definition:— 'The Love of God, the Father, Who gave His only begotten Son,

"is the subject of consideration in the Advent and Christmas sea-
"son; the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who died for us, rose
"again, and ascended into heaven, is dwelt upon in the season of
"Lent, the Passion Week, and Easter, to Ascension Day; the Fel-
"lowship of the Holy Ghost is the subject of the Whitsuntide fes-
"tival; and on Trinity Sunday we close the whole festive period
"with a thankful retrospect of all that Divine Grace has done for
"our salvation."[123]

The Church Year, therefore, begins with the season of Advent, and in our second talk we spoke of our beautiful and interesting Advent and Christmas Customs.

Epiphany, January 6th, while not mentioned in the above list, is a part of the Advent and Christmas season. It commemorates the coming of the Wise Men, and has always been observed as the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. Naturally, that brings in the thought of Missions, and in the early days of Wachovia it was so celebrated, one feature being a house-to-house canvass for money for Foreign Missions. The Bethabara diary says that when Matthew Stach lived in North Carolina, after he retired from the Greenland mission field, he delighted in being the collector on January 6th.[124]

It has proved difficult to find anything about the Moravian observance of *Lent.* In the Ancient Unitas Fratrum special meetings were held on Wednesday and Friday evenings during this season, and the mystery of redemption was "diligently inculcated, especially upon the young."[125] The Unity Handbook of 1606 contains special hymns for use during the "Fastenzeit," which suggests that fasting was considered appropriate during the Lenten season. Comenius mentions three sorts of days of fasting:—

(a) days of special prayer; (b) times of special danger from war, pestilence or persecution, or because of local circumstances; (c) when ministers are about to be chosen and ordained at synods.[126]

In the histories of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum I have found no reference to fasting; not even when note is made in our diary that the Government of the United Colonies has issued a call for a Day of Fasting and Prayer. None of the earlier diaries of Wa-

chovia mention Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent. Our pioneer Moravians dwelt so much upon the life, sufferings and death of Jesus that it is rather difficult to distinguish more attention paid to the last days of His earthly life at one time or another, but on Feb. 23, 1755, five weeks before Easter Sunday, the congregation of Bethabara sang the "Wunden Litaney,"[127] the Litany of the the Wounds of Jesus, which seems to indicate recognition of the first Sunday in Lent. In 1764 Bishop Graff began using the Latin names for the Sundays of the Church Year, as he made the diary entries for Wachovia; and in 1765 he noted that on February 17th they were entering the "Passions Zeit,[128] the Lenten season. On March 1, 1772, in Salem, "the Litany was prayed, and there was "preaching on the text: 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem,' which "made a blessed beginning of the Passion season."[129] again meaning Lent, for Easter Sunday that year came on April 19th, though Bro. Tiersch was anticipating Lent by ten days. I have been unable to find any further clues in our older diaries, and I think we may conclude that since the Renewal of the Unitas Fratrum, certainly from the beginning of the American Moravian Church, the Lenten season has always been a time when thoughts were directed forward to the Passion Week, but that it was marked by no special outward observances except the holding of "instruction classes."

Special observance of *Palm Sunday* was late in beginning, at least in Wachovia. In 1754 the "Wunden Litaney" was sung on the Sunday before Easter;[130] in 1755 there is a note that it is the beginning of the Passion Week.[131] Not until 1762 do we find the name "Palm Sunday;"[132] and not until 1775 do we find a definite reference to the Triumphal Entry, and then only through the note that two choirs sang the anthem: "Hosannah, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."[133]

Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of *Passion Week* were much like other week-days until 1764, when the *reading meetings*[134] were held each day, much as they are now.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday of the Passion Week and Easter were observed from the beginning of the Moravian Settlement in Wachovia,[135] and the custom was doubtless brought to America by the members of the Unity moving to Pennsylvania,

though I have been unable to find a description of the customs in Herrnhut, on which they were doubtless based.

Maundy Thursday (called Gründonnerstag in German) takes its name from the Latin word "mandatum" a command, the reference being to the "new commandment" given by Jesus to His disciples, recorded in John 13:34. For some years the Wachovia Moravians obeyed literally the statement in John 13:14: "Ye ought also to wash one another's feet. Two "Pedalavium"[136] services were held, one for the men and another for the women, leaders of each group serving the rest.. Strange as such a custom seems to us, they made of it a solemn preparation for the Lord's Supper which followed. Pedalavium has long since passed away, but we keep the name of Maundy Thursday, with its reminder of the "new commandment: "That ye love one another." In Wachovia the Lord's Supper was held on Maundy Thursday[137] for the first time in 1756, the custom thereafter never varying.

Easter in Salem would not be Easter without our *"reading meetings."* Members of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum had reading meetings of various kinds, especially readings from the Bible and reports from other Moravian Congregations. In the Salem Archives we have a number of shelves of Nachrichten, Beylagen and Reden; that is of the manuscript copies of the reports (Nachrichten) from Moravian congregations and missions the world around, of the additional material (Beylagen) which the board of secretaries thought worth circulating, and of the sermons (Reden) preached on special occasions by leaders of the Unity, written down and copied for distribution. The reading meetings which began on Maundy Thursday, 1754, in Wachovia, continuing on Good Friday, Great Sabbath and Easter Sunday, were naturally readings from the story of the last days of our Lord on earth,[138] and are so designated in the Bethabara diary of that and succeeding years. The portions of Scripture read are not mentioned, but it is certain that each minister had to make his own selection, for our Passion Week Manual had not yet been compiled. In our Salem Archives there is a manuscript volume belonging to Paul Tiersch, first preacher in Salem, who died in October, 1774. It is not dated, but the fact that the sections specified for reading during the Passion Week begin only with Wednesday seems to place it before

1764. It does not follow either of the printed Harmonies on our Archive shelves in the arrangement of the Text, and there is nothing to indicate its origin.

In 1757 a *Harmony of the Gospels* was printed, in German, bearing the title: "Die Geschichte der Tage des Menschen-Sohnes auf Erden, aus den vier Evangelisten zusammen gezogen."[139] Neither the place of printing nor the name of the compiler is given in this edition, but the preface is dated "B. March 5, 1757." Notes at the end, making certain rather numerous emendations which had occurred to the compiler as he read the proof of the book, add the statement that "this may be the first attempt to prepare a Harmony of the Gospels."[140] A second edition of this Harmony was brought out a little later. The title page gives date of publication as 1759; a note on page 188 shows that the compiler was "the Ordinarius,"—Count Zinzendorf,—and explains that the Counnt had been able to read proof of and revise the first part of the Harmony for this second edition, but had died after correcting copy for the latter part and before it had actually been printed. This note is dated at Herrnhut, July 12, 1760; Count Zinzendorf had died on May 9th of that year. It was doubtless the first edition of this Harmony which was used in Bethabara, North Carolina, at Easter, 1758, for the diary refers to readings from "the four Gospels." A publication in French,[141] giving the story of the Days of the Son of Man during the Passion Week and to His Ascension, printed in 1766, seems in the main to follow the Zinzendorf compilation.

Another compilation of the Story of the Days of the Son of Man on earth was made in 1768 by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn,[142] who died in Gnadenberg, Germany, Aug. 9, 1777. He had been a missionary to the Jews of Amsterdam, Holland; and had served as pastor of various Moravian congregations in Germany. He was highly esteemed for his knowledge of the Bible. He had a great talent for the religious instruction of children, understanding them, and knowing how to reach their hearts and minds, and he prepared a little book on doctrine for their use. Spangenberg said of him that, like Paul, he excelled in many things, but counted all as loss compared with an abundant knowledge of Jesus Christ. The first edition of the Lieberkühn compilation[143] was printed at Barby, in 1769. The Editor's preface, dated Dec. 2, 1768, says

that Samuel Lieberkühn followed the conclusions of certain modern theologians; and that the text was taken from Luther's translation of the Bible. The Author's foreword explains that he is aware of the differences of opinion among Bible students as to chronology, and that he has followed Dr. Bengel, whom many consider the best authority, and has based his compilation on the chronology of the Gospel of Matthew. This foreword is dated at Neusalz, Nov. 24, 1768. In the latter part of the Harmony the story of the Passion Week is divided into separate days, each assigned to its own day for the reading thereof. This Lieberkühn Harmony was reprinted in German at Barby in 1770;[144] and was translated into English and printed in London in 1771.[145] Apparently the story of the Passion Week was also printed separately in England in 1771, and in Germany in 1775. There is a most interesting copy in the Salem Archives, which has the Lieberkühn compilation of the story of the Passion Week, printed in Philadelphia in 1769, (the same year in which the first edition of the entire Harmony appeared in Germany), the same being bound into a volume with many blank pages on which Matthaeus Hehl has written out his Passion Week and Easter sermons, dedicating the entire book to his son.

This Lieberkühn compilation went through many editions,[146] first in its entirety, and later as the Passion Week Manual. In the Northern Province of the Moravian Church a new printing of the Manual was ordered by the Provincial Synod which met at Lititz, Pennsylvania, in 1898. In accordance with these instructions a German-American edition was published in 1900, with interpolated stanzas of hymns printed in full in the body of the text. In 1909 a new English edition was printed in the Northern Province, Dr. Augustus Schultze serving as editor, and substituting the American Standard Revision for the text of the King James Version hitherto used. In 1932 the Northern Province brought out another edition, retaining the text of the American Standard Revision, and printing the interpolated stanzas of hymns as in the former German edition. Some changes were also made in the assignments for the days of Passion Week. Salem prefers the wording of the King James Version of the Bible, used in the first English edition of 1771, and endeared to the congregation by more than a century

and a half of hearing, and the Southern Province has recently printed a new edition retaining this text, though some of the congregations use the Manual from the Northern Province as a matter of preference.

In Wachovia the first mention of "intermengten Choralen" was in 1770,[147] and we still use the old familiar stanzas interspersed through the readings. Instead of printing them with the Bible passages we use leaflets or a small booklet containing the words, with the necessary preceding phrase for identifying the place in the story.

The reading meetings begun on Maundy Thursday of the first Moravian Easter in North Carolina were continued on *Good Friday, Great Sabbath* and *Easter Sunday* practically as we have them today.

The first *Great Sabbath Love-feast*[148] in North Carolina was also held in 1754. It was not the first Moravian Love-feast in Wachovia, for that took place on the evening of Nov. 17, 1753,[149] the very day on which the first company of Moravian settlers reached the one-room log hut around which they built Bethabara, but the diaries note that it was the first Great Sabbath Love-feast, commemorating the rest of the body of Jesus in the tomb. The hymns which we use today stress the same ideas that were prominent in 1754:—graves blessed by the rest of Jesus in a tomb, brotherly love, promised resurrection and reunion.

The Resurrection of our Lord was, from the first, of supreme importance to the Christian Church. We celebrate it fifty-two times a year, for the Early Christian Church observed the first day of the week as "the Lord's Day," at first along with the Jewish Sabbath (Saturday) and then instead of it. Naturally, out of the fifty-two Sundays of the year the actual anniversary first day became most important, that which we call *Easter Sunday.*

The *Early Service*[150] at sunrise on Easter Sunday had its origin in Herrnhut in 1732. Cröger, in his history of the Renewed Unity of Brethren gives this account of it: "On April 12th, in the Band "of young men, we agreed that on Easter Day, before the rising "of the sun, we would go to the Hutberg among our resting-places, "which took place before four o'clock on the morning of the 13th.

"After singing for an hour and a half on the Hutberg we returned, "and later a song and prayer service was held in the Saal." The impression made upon the hearts and minds of these young men was so beautiful, so deep, so solemn, that the congregation caught the vision, and it became the custom to greet the Easter morn with hymns of resurrection and the beautiful liturgy which is our confession of faith in the resurrection that was and that which shall be.

The first reference to this Easter liturgy which I have been able to find was in 1754, when Count Zinzendorf published a revised edition of the Liturgy Book. It contained revisions of liturgies composed in 1743, the Easter Morning Liturgy, and the Sunday Morning Litany, but there is nothing to indicate how much further back these liturgies and litanies go, nor how much Count Zinzendorf drew from the liturgies of the Ancient Unity. Certainly the Litany for Sunday Morning has been revised a number of times since 1754; we have a series of liturgy-books in our Archives through which changes can be traced.

This custom our forefathers brought to North Carolina with them, and yet for four years their sunrise service was held indoors.[151] In spite of the hard work and actual privation of those pioneer years, no deaths occurred in Bethabara until the very end of 1757, so in their prayer hall they read and sang the Easter Liturgy, remembering such of their friends as had passed away elsewhere. With the coming of Easter Sunday, March 26, 1758, they climbed the steep hill to God's Acre,[152] and sang their resurrection hymns and "the new Easter Liturgy" beside the grave of wee Anna Maria Opitz, the first to rest in that consecrated place, and prayed for final reunion with her and with all Christian friends who had fallen asleep since the last Easter Day,—prayed for "everlasting fellowship with the Church Triumphant."

In our Moravian faith a Graveyard is not a yard full of graves, a place of death. We speak of our Moravian "Graveyard" in Salem, but we think of it and we treat it as though it retained its ancient name of "Gottesacker," generally translated *God's Acre* but really signifying what we might call God's Field,—not just an acre of ground dedicated to God, but a field in which the bodies of be-

lievers are sown in faith, awaiting a coming resurrection.[153] This definition is evidenced by phrases in the diaries, and in the Easter Morning Liturgy, and explains why our forefathers limited burial in a Moravian God's Acre to members of the congregation, for they wished none buried there who did not pass away in faith. They provided other places for the interment of those concerning whose spiritual condition they knew nothing or too much.[154]

This Moravian view is emphasized by the Church Registers of our Southern Province. Our diaries never used the word "died" for a member of the congregation, but always "fell asleep," "went home," or some such term of trust and hope. "Deaths and Burials" is a modern wording in our Church Registers; the earlier form is "Heimgegangen und Begraben," (Gone home and Hidden away), and over the column where the date of departure is entered stands the word "Entschlafen," (Fell asleep).

Before leaving the subject of our Easter Observance we should add that the custom of having the *musicians wake the inhabitants* before day on Easter Sunday is at least as old as 1755 in Wachovia, in which year trumpets were used.[155] They probably had no suitable instruments in 1754.

The building of Salem was begun in 1766, but for some years the workmen returned to Bethabara for their religious services,[156] other than morning and evening prayer. In 1770 the schedule of Easter services in Bethabara was about as we have them today; in Salem all the week-day services were held, but the Brethren went to Bethabara for Easter Sunday.[157] In 1771 the Early Service was held in Salem in the Prayer-Hall, as there had been no interment in the Salem God's Acre.[158] In 1772 it rained, so the service was again held indoors,[159] though there had been three interments. However, in the week preceding Easter two of the Brethren had opened "a straight path" from the Gemein Haus to God's Acre,[160] and we tread that path each year as we move from the Home Church up Church Street to the central squares in the Graveyard. On April 11, 1773, "at five o'clock in the morning "the congregation of Salem met in the Saal, and went from there "in procession to God's Acre, where the Easter Liturgy was "prayed, and we remembered four members, who have gone home "from Wachovia since last Easter, together with all the other mem-

"bers of the Unity who have been called away."[161] And so the custom of an Early Easter Service in Salem was fully established.

Visitors to our Moravian Graveyard always ask why families are scattered, why married women are buried in one square, unmarried women in another, and so on. The answer is found in the *Choir System*[162] which developed in Herrnhut between the years 1727 and 1742. The name of our Church, "Unitas Fratrum" is based on Matt. 23:8, the words of Jesus to His disciples: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." Zinzendorf deduced from this that each Christian congregation should be as one family; that in a human family the parents have certain interterests and responsibilities which do not touch the unmarried members; that little boys do not care for much which appeals to young men, and life has a different look to little girls and their big sisters; yet all are concerned for the family as a whole; so the congregation family should be grouped according to age, sex and condition in life, and yet all should be as one in the things which concern all alike.[163] The congregation of Herrnhut was therefore divided into ten "choirs" or classes:—Married Men, Married Women, Widowers, Widows, Single Brethren, Single Sisters, Older Boys, Older Girls, Little Boys, Little Girls. To each of these choirs was assigned a special Covenant Day,[164] or day of prayer and renewed dedication to the service of Christ, and throughout the year there were frequent meetings for discussion, instruction, fellowship, or whatever might be needed according to the requirements of each group. Special attention was drawn to the different phases of the Lord's life on earth, as furnishing points of contact with each individual choir; and whenever we use the Sunday Morning Litany today we pray: ' 'Grant that all of us, in every age and station, may enjoy the powerful and sanctifying merits of Thy holy humanity, and make us chaste before Thee in soul and body," which is virtually a summary of the choir petitions in older editions of the Litany. In Herrnhut the adult choirs were fully organized, and the advance from one choir to the other with increasing age or changed condition, was publicly and solemnly noted from infancy on. In Salem we have reduced the number of annual Covenant Days to four:—for Married People, (including Married Men, Married Women, Widowers and Widows),

September seventh, the date having been chosen because it was the wedding day of Count and Countess Zinzendorf;[165] for Single Brethren and Older Boys, August twenty-ninth, that being the anniversary of the special organization among the young men of Herrnhut in 1741; for Single Sisters and Older Girls, May fourth, anniversary of the day on which Anna Nitschmann established a covenant among the young women of Herrnhut in 1730; and for Little Boys and Little Girls on August seventeenth, in remembrance of the awekening among the little girls of Herrnhut in 1727, followed almost immediately by the awakening among the little Herrnhut boys. While our Covenant Days have been thus combined we maintain the old choir system in the keeping of our Church records.

The close fellowship developed within each group under the Choir System led quite naturally to the placing of graves in the same groups. The Salem Graveyard began with four squares, one for Married Men and Widowers, one for Married Women and Widows, one for Single Brethren, Older and Little Boys, one for Single Sisters, Older and Little Girls. In the course of years the squares in current use for each group have become widely separated, and it is not surprising that strangers feel that families are scattered. What they do not realize is that for a member whose family has been connected with Salem congregation for five generations the entire Graveyard is a family burial plot," with practically every square containing the mortal remains of ancestors or relatives. Those who have more recently joined the congregation accept the custom as part of their inheritance, feeling its significance more or less consciously, yet somehow aware of its beauty.

The uniform *mounds,* the simple, recumbent *stones,* bear out the same family idea, all equal and none making a show over the other. The Bethabara diary shows that gravestones were placed on all the mounds there in preparation for the Easter season of 1763, and since then it has been customary to place the stones as soon as possible after interment. Only those who have visited other old cemeteries, where such care has not been taken, can realize the value of our inheritance in this regard. Our Moravian Graveyard has no wide-open spaces, without mounds or stones,

where the "forefathers of the hamlet sleep" in unmarked graves, remembered only in vague tradition. For us there are the regular rows of mounds, the simple stones, the *Graveyard Index,* and the *Church Registers,* all combining to establish definitely the last resting place of every man, woman and child who has been laid to rest in our God's Acre since June 7, 1771, when the space reserved in 1766 was consecrated by the interment of the mortal remains of John Birkhead.[166] (Johann Klein was the first resident of Salem to pass away, but he was drowned while on a journey to Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, N. C., on Aug. 22, 1770, and not until Nov. 17, 1772, were his remains re-interred in the Salem Graveyard, being the fourth burial there.)[167]

I have already mentioned the use of trumpets to waken the residents of Bethabara for the early Easter Service of 1755. Trumpets were also used to announce the "home-going" of Sister Rogers in 1759.[168] This idea of *announcing deaths* by the playing of wind instruments originated in Europe, it being quite common in Germany, and serving the same purpose as the tolling of a bell. The distinctly Moravian feature of the death announcement was the use of a series of *Funeral Chorales,* arranged to fit into the Choir System already described. Just when this set of Chorales was worked out I have not been able to ascertain definitely. They were probably arranged by Count Zinzendorf and Christian Gregor,[169] to whose interest in hymnology and music the Renewed Unitas Fratrum owes so much. Gregor was born in 1723, joined the Unity in 1742, served various congregations as organist until 1764, then filled numerous important offices in the Unity until his death in December, 1801, at which time he was a bishop and a member of the Unity's Elders Conference. He was both hymn-writer and composer, and to him we owe many of the tunes which we use today, some of which he wrote, and others he arranged for Moravian Church use, taking them from different sources.

Just when the schedude of Funeral Chorales was brought to North Carolina does not appear. On March 4, 1765, in Bethabara, the death of Gerit Zyns was "announced with the usual tunes on the *French horns,*"[170] and this casual reference to the usual tunes shows that they had been in use for a considerable time. In Salem, on Oct. 16, 1774, the departure of "our dear Bro. Tiersch" was

announced by the *trombones* with the accustomed melodies."[171] Old Salem seems to have been particularly fond of trombones, which were first used to announce a Communion service in Bethabara in June, 1768, and were brought to Salem with the rest of the musical instruments when the transfer to the central town was made.[172] We are therefore true to tradition when our "Trombone Band" announces Communion or the Home-going of a member.

Every Bethlehem and every Salem Moravian knows that the trombonists (using the term to indicate all the musicians, though in Salem they play other instruments in addition to the trombones) *announce the death of a member*[173] and play at the funeral, but I find that a great many do not understand the significance of what they hear.

In announcing a death the musicians play three times, and each tune has associated with it a special stanza which conveys a distinct message to the hearer. The first verse, with tune 151 A the "Passion Chorale" is the real announcement of the death:

A pilgrim, us preceding,
  Departs unto his home,
The final summons heeding
  Which soon to all must come.
O joy! the chains to sever
  Which burden pilgrims here,
To dwell with Christ forever,
  Who to our souls is dear.

The second tune, with its associated stanza, shows to which of the ten choirs, or divisions of the congregation, the departed member belonged. It would take too long to read them all, but I will at least give you the tune number and the first line of each stanza:

For Married Brethren, Tune 83 D.

Jesus ne'er forsaketh me.

For Married Sisters, Tune 79 A.

His plea amid deep sighing,
My soul with peace hath blessed.

For Widowers, Tune 132 A.

His goodness and His mercies all
Will follow me forever.

For Widows, Tune 149 A.

Lift thy heart, oh weary soul,
To the heavenly mansion.

For Single Brethren, Tune 185 A.

Faithful Lord, my only joy and pleasure.

For Single Sisters, Tune 37 A.

My happy lot is here
The Lamb to follow.

For Older Boys, Tune 23.

Jesus' grace me here possessing.

For Older Girls, Tune 14 A.

Lord Jesus, let Thy grace abound.

Little Boys, Tune 39 A.

The Lord to His fold little children inviteth.

Little Girls, Tune 82 D.

Should not I for gladness leap
Led by Jesus as His sheep.

You will notice that no two choirs have the same tune, so any one hearing the announcement, and able to recognize the tune, can tell at once to which Choir the departed member belongs.

For the third tune the musicians repeat Tune 151 A, the Passion Chorale, but with a different significance, for this time the associated verse is a prayer by those who are left behind:

Lord, when I am departing,
Oh! part Thou not from me!
When mortal pangs are darting,
Then call me home to Thee!

Thy death's atoning merit
From death hath set me free;
Thus saved, I shall inherit
Eternal life in Thee.

Announcement, Choir Chorale, and Prayer,—that is the form used today in Herrnhut, Bethlehem and Winston-Salem, and some other of our older congregations, and we have a great inheritance therein.

Our Salem Band has added to the schedule of Announcement Chorales a definite schedule for use at the funeral of a member, though perhaps few of us realize it. In front of the Home Church, after the funeral service, the second part of Tune 151 A is played, with the associated stanza:

Grant me to lean unshaken
Upon Thy faithfulness,
Until I hence am taken
To see Thee face to face.

Entering the Avenue, Tune 168 A.

Jesus, Source of my salvation,
Conqueror both of death and hell.

Entering the Graveyard, Tune 205 A.

Jesus, Lover of my soul,
Let me to Thy bosom fly.

During the interment, Tune 14 A.

Now to the earth let these remains
In hope committed be,
Until the body, changed, attains
Blest immortality.

Leaving the Graveyard the Choir Chorale is played once more. Closing, Tune 159 A.

'Tis the most blest and needful part
To have in Christ a share,
And to commit our way and heart
Unto His faithful care.

This done, our steps are safe and sure,
Our hearts' desires are rendered pure,
And naught can pluck us from His hand
Which leads us to the end.

The placing of flowers on the graves at Easter began in Salem about seventy years ago. Miss Margaret Siewers and Miss Josephine Siddall, teachers in Salem Female Academy, conceived the idea of placing flowers on their brothers' graves and on the graves of several boarding pupils of the Academy who had died while in Salem. Out of that simple beginning has grown the custom which today beautifies not only the Moravian Graveyard but the Salem Cemetery as well.

Just one final word. It is to the habit of our early Brethren of keeping *Diaries* and *Memorabilia* that we owe the knowledge of the origins of our customs. From these original records, written day by day and summed up at the end of each year, historians have been able to draw the information already in print, and constant reference is still being made to them. You might be surprised to know how frequent are the requests for information on all sorts of subjects, historical and genealogical; and you may well be proud of the high regard in which these records are held by the well-informed. I know of no documents so well authenticated as our Memorabilia, which are written by the minister from notes kept during the year, are approved by the Board of Elders, and then read to a large congregation before they are filed for the future. So far as I know the "Memorabilia of Fifty-Four Years," written by Bishop Edward Rondthaler and published in recognition of his long service of Salem congregation, is absolutely unique, and its value will increase with every year. We owe much to the North Carolina Historical Commission for publishing four volumes of the "Records of the Moravians in North Carolina," and if it is ever possible to fill the gap between that series and Bishop Rondthaler's volume we will have given to the world an historical contribution which I think cannot be surpassed anywhere.

Truly we have a great inheritance, and it should be our joy to pass it on undiminished, and if possible increased in worth and beauty.

1. Acts XI, 26.
2. History of the Unitas Fratrum, by Edmund de Schweinitz, p. 158.
3. ibid, p. 218.
4. ibid, p. 158.
5. ibid, p. 5.
6. ibid, p. 8.
7. ibid.
8. ibid, p. 10.
9. ibid, p. 11.
10. ibid, pp. 12, 16.
11. ibid, p. 15.
12. ibid, p. 16.
13. ibid, pp. 27, 77, 78.
14. ibid, pp. 32, 36, 46.
15. ibid, pp. 32, 84, 360.
16. Matt. XX, 26, 27, 28.
17. History of the Unitas Fratrum, de Schweinitz, pp. 83, 90.
18. ibid, p. 98.
19. ibid, p. 99.
20. ibid, pp. 95, 100.
21. ibid, p. 97.
22. ibid, p. 96.
23. ibid, pp. 111, 112, 204. Spanbenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine, p. 245.
24. History of the Unitas Fratrum, de Schweinitz, p. 106.
25. ibid, p. 109.
26. ibid, p. 110.
27. ibid, p. 108.
28. ibid, p. 113.
29. ibid, pp. 117, 118.
30. ibid, p. 121.
31. ibid, pp. 122, 128, 130, 131, 201.
32. ibid, pp. 127, 138, 149.
33. ibid, p. 139.
34. Matt. XVIII, 16-19.
35. Phil. I:1; Hist. of U. F., de S., p. 138.
36. Hist. of U. F., de S., p. 210.
37. ibid, p. 140.
38. ibid, pp. 141, 142, 150.
39. ibid, p. 134.
40. ibid, p. 142. Frank E. Wilson, S.T.D., in "The Divine Commission," a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church, p. 233, says that the Council of Nicea declared transmission of Episcopal Orders through even a single Bishop to be valid but irregular.
41. Hist. of U. F., de S., p. 153.
42. ibid, p. 157.
43. ibid, p. 115.
44. ibid, p. 173.
45. ibid, pp. 182, 239.
46. ibid, p. 226.
47. ibid, p. 225.
48. ibid, p. 226.
49. ibid, pp. 228, 256, 257, 259.
50. ibid, p. 233.
51. ibid, pp. 462, 465.
52. ibid, p. 241.
53. ibid, pp. 423, 424.
54. ibid, pp. 479, 555, 580, 590, 608, 609, 617, 618, 619.
55. ibid, pp. 501, 507, 530.
56. History of Bethlehem, Levering, pp. 78, 79.
57. Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, by Fries, Vol. I, p. 86.
58. ibid, 150, 174.
59. ibid, pp. 206, 227, 233.
60. ibid, p. 252.
61. ibid, p. 447.
62. ibid, p. 691.
63. Rec. of the Moravians in N. C., Vol. IV, p. 1794.
64. The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740, Fries, p. 101.
65. Rec. of Mor. in N. C., Vol. I, p. 59.
66. ibid, p. 87.
67. ibid, p. 151.

68. ibid, p. 174. Plitt's manuscript history of the Moravian Church says that according to the Herrnhut diary the first Watch-night service at Herrnhut was held Dec. 31, 1733, and that in his address Count Zinzendorf reviewed the past year in the congregation. At midnight the congregation sang the hymn which we have in translation as: "Now thank we all our God, With hearts and hands and voices."
69. Rec. of Mor. in N. C., Vol. I, p. 253.
70. ibid, p. 444.
71. ibid, p. 447.
72. ibid, Vol. II, p. 666.
73. History of the Moravian Church, by Hamilton, p. 14; Geschichte der erneuerten Brueder-Kirche, by Cröger, Part II, pp. 7-9.
74. Hamilton, p. 12; Cröger, Part II, p. 6.
75. Cröger, II, pp. 1-6.
76. ibid, pp. 9-12.
77. ibid, pp. 12-14; Hamilton, p. 17.
78. Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig, Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf, bescreiben von August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Part I, p. a, 3.
79. Hamilton's Hist. of Moravian Church, p. 68.
80. ibid, p. 105.
81. Rec. of Mor. in N. C., Vol. I, pp. 62, 147, 213.
82. Spangenberg, Part I, p. 213, Part II, p. 221; Hamilton, p. 23.
83. Die Gedenktage der erneuerten Brueder-Kirche, p. 14.
84. ibid, p. 15; Hamilton, pp. 15, 32.
85. Gedenktage, pp. 21, 22, 23.
86. ibid, p. 65; Hamilton, pp. 33, 34.
87. Gedenktage, pp. 80-83; Hamilton, pp. 32, 37.
88. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. IV, p. 1498.
89. Cröger, Gesch. d. er. B.—K., Part I, p. 109.
90. ibid, pp. 108, 110, 111.
91. ibid, p. 112.
92. Hamilton, p. 39.
93. Cröger, Part I, p. 131. Spangenberg's "Leben des Herrn Grafen von Zinzendorf," Part III, pp. 446, 447.
94. de Schweinitz, p. 219.
95. Cröger, Part II, p. 263.
96. ibid, Part I, pp. 115, 190; Hamilton, p. 40.
97. Cröger, Part I, p. 191.
98. ibid, p. 388.
99. ibid, p. 121.
100. Hamilton, p. 44; see also collection of Text Books in Archives.
101. Hamilton, p. 69.
102. ibid, pp. 68, 70, 76.
103. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. II, p. 545.
104. ibid, pp. 690, 747, 761. The ten Deaconesses who served in Wachovia were: Gertraut Graff, ordained 1743, at Gnadek; Hedwig Elisabeth Marschall, ordained 1745, at Herrnhaag; Maria Tiersch, ordained 1771, at Bethlehem; Maria Bagge and Anna Maria Quest, ordained 1781, at Bethabara; Anna Catharina Ernst, Benigna Peter, Mar. Elisabeth Praezel, Maria Beck and Johanna Elizabeth Colver, ordained 1786, at Salem. See Book of Ordinations in Salem Archives.
105. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. II, p. 544.
106. ibid, p. 546.
107. de Schweinitz, p. 221.
108. Cröger, Geschichte der alten Brueder-Kirche, pp. 129, 137.
109. Cröger, Geschichte der erneuerten Brueder-Kirche, Part II, p. 110; Nachricht von der Böhm. Mähr. Brueder-Kirche.
110. Gesangbuch, edition of 1893, pp. 615, 631.
111. Joseph Mueller's Story of the Ancient Unity, Vol. II, p. 12; de Schweinitz, p. 220; Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine, p. 239; I Cor. 5:7, 8.
112. Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf, Part I, p. 99.
113. ibid, Part V, p. 1351.
114. Cröger, Geschichte der erneuerten Br.-Kirche, Part I, p. 418; Hamilton, p. 97.
115. Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf, p. 1352.
116. ibid, pp. 1354, 1355. There is a full account of the celebration of Nov. 13, 1741, in Herrnhut given in Cröger, Part I, pp, 422-426. For this day Count Zinzendorf wrote the hymn: "Welcome among Thy flock of grace," which is No. 803 in the Church Hymnal. For the Centennial, on Nov. 13, 1841, James Montgomery wrote the hymn: "All hail! Our Church's Elder dear," No. 795 in our Hymnal.

117. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, pp. 444, 445, 446.
118. Hamilton, pp. 135, 136, 137. The Proceedings were printed in full; there is a bound copy in Salem Archives.
119. Dobbs Parish. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 152.
120. A school for girls was begun in Germantown, Pa., in 1741; was moved to Bethlehem; to Nazareth; and back to Bethlehem in 1749; it became the Bethlehem Seminary for Young Ladies, then the Bethlehem College for Women. See Levering's History of Beth., pp. 105, 231.
Salem school begun 1772; see Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. II, p. 699.
Linden Hall begun 1794; see Hamilton's History of the Moravian Church, p. 318.
121. Tiersch, Marshall and Graff.
122. Clewell's History of Wachovia, p. 191.
123. Synodal Results, 1899.
124. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. III, p. 1091.
125. de Schweinitz, p. 219.
126. ibid, p. 221. Data from the Bethlehem Archives.
127. Bethabara diary. The "Litanei zu den Wunden Jesu" was composed by Count Zinzendorf in 1744; Cröger, Part II, p. 56.
128. Bethabara diary.
129. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. II, p. 671 .
130. Bethabara diary.
131. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 125.
132. Bethabara diary.
133. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. II, p. 870; April 9, 1775.
134. Bethabara diary.
135. ibid.
136. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 187.
137. Bethabara diary, April 15, 1756.
138. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 100.
139. Copy in Salem Archives.
140. The author (Zinzendorf) was mistaken, though it was not his fault. About 160 A.D. Titian wrote the "Diatessaron," said to have been "the earliest life of Christ ever compiled from the four Gospels." It was much used in Syria in the third and fourth centuries . It was regarded as hopelessly lost until about 1883, when a study was made of an Arabic translation found in the library of the Vatican. A Middle English Harmony of the four Gospels was discovered in 1902, in the Pepys Collection of Manuscripts in Magdalene College, Cambridge, England. It is supposed to have been written about 1400, possibly from an earlier French compilation. A copy, printed, with notes, is in the library of the University of North Carolina. As both of these early works were unknown to the scholars of Zinzendorf's day he must be credited with an original idea, which was taken up and followed by others. The Zinzendorf "Harmony" is in narrative form, as distinct from the parallel column type.
141. Copy in Salem Archives.
142. Cröger, Part I, p. 381; II, p. 156, 354; III, p. 235, 260, 261.
143. Copy in Salem Archives.
144. Copy in Salem Archives.
145. Copy in Salem Archives.
146. In the Bethlehem Archives there is a manuscript copy of the Lieberkuehn Harmony, translated into the Delaware Indian tongue by David Zeisberger; also a Resolution passed by the Bethlehem Female Missionary Society on May 19, 1819, ordering the printing of this translation at the expense of the Society. In the report of a Love-feast held on May 23, 1819, it is noted that on May 23, 1806, Zeisberger wrote a letter to the Delaware Indians, bequeathing his translation of the Harmony to them as a special legacy. In the Library of Congress (P.M. 1034, Z. 7.) there is a copy of this Zeisberger translation, printed in 1821.
147. Bethabara diary.
148. Bethabara diary, April 13, 1754.
149. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 79.
150. Cröger, Part I, p. 224.
151. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 164; Bethabara diary.
152. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. II, p. 662; Spangenberg's "Leben von Zinzendorf," Part V, p. 1525; Part VII, p. 1975.
153. ibid, Vol. II, p. 662.

154. Dobbs Parish Graveyard was begun in 1759; Salem Parish Graveyard in 1773; Bethania Parish Graveyard in 1803. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 213; Vol. II, p. 771; Tombstones.
155. Bethabara diary, March 30, 1755.
156. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 325.
157. ibid, p. 418.
158. Salem diary, March 31, 1771.
159. ibid, April 19, 1772.
160. ibid, April 13, 1772.
161. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. II, p. 757.
162. Cröger, Part I, 129; Part II, p. 78.
163. Levering's Hist. of Bethlehem, p. 197. Spangenberg's "Exposition of Christian Doctrine," pp. 339-355.
164. Cröger, Part III, p. 409; Moravian Customs and other Matters of Interest, by Stocker, p. 25.
165. Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf, Part II, p. 219.
166. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, pp. 326, 407, 442.
167. ibid, Vol. I, pp. 413, 417; Vol. II, p. 691.
168. ibid, Vol. I, p. 212.
169. Gesangbuch, edition of 1893, p. 617; Cröger, Part III, p. 527.
170. Rec. of Moravians in N. C., Vol. I, p. 300.
171. ibid, Vol. I, 819.
172. ibid, Vol. I, pp. 378,, 447.
173. Funeral Chorales of the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church, by Fries.

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